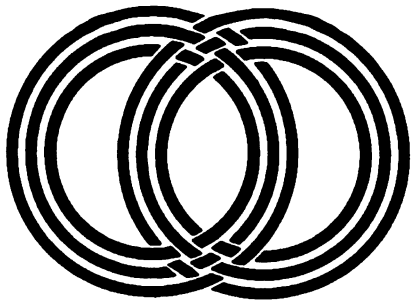
DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT



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A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT

is an independent quarterly established to express Mormon culture and to examine the relevance of religion to secular life. It is edited by Latter-day Saints who wish to bring their faith into dialogue with the larger stream of world religious thought and with human experience as a whole and to foster artistic and scholarly achievement based on their cultural heritage. The journal encourages a variety of viewpoints; although every effort is made to ensure accurate scholarship and responsible judgment, the views expressed are those of the individual authors and are not necessarily those of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints or of the editors.

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Dialogue welcomes articles, essays, poetry, fiction, notes and comments, letters to the editors, and art. Preference is given to submissions from subscribers. Manuscripts should be sent in triplicate, accompanied by return postage, and should be prepared according to the latest edition of the *Chicago Manual of Style*, including double-spacing all block quotations and notes. For the reference citation style, please consult issues from volume 26 on. If the submission is accepted for publication, an electronic version on an IBM-PC compatible diskette or as an e-mail attachment, using WordPerfect, Word, or other compatible ASCII format software, must be submitted with a hard copy of the final manuscript. Send submissions to *Dialogue*, P.O. Box 20210, Shaker Heights, Ohio 44120 or inquire at dialogue@csuohio.edu. Artists wishing consideration of their artwork should send inquiries to the Art Director at the same address. Allow eight to twelve weeks for review of all submissions.

1999 *DIALOGUE*

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Inspiring Essay

"Stealing the Reaper's Grim: The Challenge of Dying Well" by Paul R. Cazier, *Dialogue* 32, no. 4 (Winter 1999), 115-147, is one of the most inspiring and thoughtful personal essays I have ever read. I am grateful to Dr. Cazier, his wife Leesa, and *Dialogue* for sharing with us this instructive and moving personal story. It should motivate us to live our lives on a higher, more Christ-like level.

G. Kevin Jones
Salt Lake City, Utah

Death and Community

I write to thank you for publishing the—well, not memoir—by Paul Cazier, and I write with gratitude to him and to his wife. Much of the past year I have been deeply enmeshed in helping my chief mentor and Idaho's state historian emeritus Merle Wells toward death. It was a difficult, often painful process not only for Merle, but for those of us who had become his only family. We laid him to rest on November 9 in the simplest and least expensive of caskets—he was not, at 81, willing to be cremated—and on the 20th we celebrated his life.

Merle was a thoughtful and deeply committed Presbyterian, a fine scholar, and a founding member of the Mormon History Association. A very private man, he had (at least outwardly) no fear of death—only a determination to keep going independently until the end came. We did not let him; we took over his life in the hope that he might die with a sense of community and lack of pain. But he would not talk with us about what we did. I wish that he and we had been able to share this essay. It might have offered a framework for talking with him, to tell him how much we loved him and how determined we were that he not die alone.

I will keep a copy of the essay to share with my husband and stepchildren in the hope that it may add to our ability to share such times with each other openly. Again, thank you.

Judy Austin,
Boise, Idaho

Feint Praise

While praise is always much appreciated, it seems unfortunate, if not unfair, that Gideon Burton and Neal Kramer also chose to clothe a straw man in their comments regarding Signature Books's reputation (Fall 1999 issue). Indeed, no other publisher they discussed received the same kind of opprobrium.

They assert—without documentation—that Signature's "liberal reputation has estranged not only mainstream LDS audiences but many authors and academics uncomfortable with the ways LDS leaders and culture are not respected in some Signature titles. Signature has thus both filled a gap and created another" (p. 7). In a footnote, they allude to a seven-year-old disagreement with one or two book reviewers at FARMS over a review of one of Signature's titles and then refer readers to an essay critical of Signature without offering an opposing response.

In my experience, the "gap" Gideon and Neal note is of their own making, or, at the very most, of the making of a very small number of antagonistic critics. I'm unaware that Signature's

reputation has "estranged" "mainstream" LDS audiences (whoever those are), and I doubt that Gideon and Neal could supply the hard data to support such a conclusion. For, in fact, Signature has probably had a relatively minor impact on mainstream LDS audiences. As a small publisher, Signature simply cannot compete in the same retail arena as Deseret/Bookcraft and Covenant, both of which enjoy unparalleled, privileged access to consumers through their retail outlets. This isn't to say that all readers, including the unnamed authors and academics to whom Gideon and Neal refer, agree with everything they read in Signature's books. Hopefully, though, they understand that such works comprise the very essence of freedom of choice and conscience, and are willing to approach such books as they would like readers to treat their own.

As to the comment that some Signature titles portray LDS leaders and culture disrespectfully, I wish Gideon and Neal had provided some examples. I know that some Signature titles bring a critical eye to bear on certain aspects of LDS history and culture, but I don't believe these have ever been disrespected.

In short, and Gideon and Neal's gracious compliments notwithstanding, I wish they had been more willing to engage readers in a fair discussion of the challenges facing writers, readers, and publishers interested in contemporary Mormon studies. I fear that they are as much responsible for the gap they, and readers like them, accuse Signature of creating as are Signature and its authors.

Regarding Gene England's complaint in the same issue that publisher and editor both should feel ashamed for having included a particular short story in Signature's compilation *In Our Lovely Deseret: Mormon Fictions*, I can only reply that I and other readers did not react the same way to the story in question. *In Our Lovely Deseret* does not pretend to sample the broad spectrum of contemporary LDS fiction, merely one specialized segment of it. Hopefully, other compilations will sample other areas; perhaps a new survey will even appear one day. In the meantime, *In Our Lovely Deseret* certainly contributes to the ongoing discussion over the creation of Mormon fiction.

Gary J. Bergera
Signature Books
Salt Lake City, Utah

Long After Thoughts

I've been catching up on some past issues of *Dialogue* and was intrigued by some of the articles in the Spring 1997 issue. In "What You Walk Away From," Holly Welker claims: "Jesus Christ seemed to prefer hanging out with the evil and adulterous to being stuck with the pious and dull." She then asks, who is more interesting: Peter (whom she characterizes as being dull, weak, and cowardly) or Mary Magdalene (whom she describes as a "reformed whore who isn't afraid of her future or ashamed of her past")? Ms. Welker correctly states that this is "not a particularly innovative insight" (p. 6). It is, however, a faulty and a presumptuous one. As spiritual physician, the Savior hung out with sinners and adulteresses not because he preferred their scintillating company, but because they were in more dire need of his services. (He spent a fair amount of time among the scribes and Pharisees as well.)

As for Peter, yes, he denied Christ three times in one night. However, I find myself denying the Savior via my thoughts and actions often enough to hold my stone, so to speak, especially if (as Talmadge claims) it hadn't yet clicked in Peter's head and heart that

Christ truly was the Messiah. I don't have that excuse. Notwithstanding, I would be very hesitant to label as weak, cowardly, and boring a man who performed miracles, saw visions, extended the gospel to the gentiles in the most exclusionist of times, and led the ancient church of Jesus Christ in direct defiance of the world's mightiest empire. I suppose for those of us who live in sin it is tempting to think that Jesus likes us better because we're so much more interesting, intelligent, flamboyant, etc., than those square, straight, covenant-keeping, scripture-toting, white-shirt-and-tie-wearing, rank-and-file Mormons. But that attitude smacks of the most un-Christ-like of characteristics and the core of what the Savior preached against: false pride and arrogance. The Savior didn't ask for verve, wit, or brilliance. He asked for a broken heart, a contrite spirit, child-like humility, and meekness. If anything, he had a penchant for the plain, the weak, the ordinary, the simple, the ungifted and untalented (and certainly the uneducated). His message was: Come unto me, and I will make you strong, mighty, glorious. And remember that before he left the Earth, the Savior called Peter and his apostles "my friends." He then turned the keys of his church over to Peter. Boring? Weak? Cowardly? I think we need a new interpretation here. As for Ms. Welker's new affinity for "the young, the angry, the obnoxious," throw out the "young" and you've got the Sanhedrinists!

Michael Fillerup
Flagstaff, Arizona

Unsupported Speculations

Kevin L. Barney's letter, *Dialogue* 32, no. 1 (Spring 1999) iv-vii, which suggests that John Taylor 'shaped' the way Thomas Bullock portrayed Joseph's treatment of Genesis in "King Follett" struck me as sad.

First, Taylor's "The Gospel Kingdom" was from *"Selections from the Writings and Discourses of John Taylor: Selected, Arranged and Annotated with an Introduction by G. Homer Durham"* (Bookcraft, 1943). How or what unspecified comments therein by Taylor might have influenced Bullock's King Follett Discourse transcription in 1844 is questionable. Second, theorizing about Taylor's "the Head brought forth the Gods," Barney perpetuates one of the oldest unsupported Mormon speculative traditions extant, suggesting it means "a divine father begat and a divine mother conceived and bore the spirits of Jesus Christ and all of his brethren and sisters." Suggesting that "Gods" above means "the ante-mortal spirit children of the 'head,'" Barney then seeks support for this tradition in further interpreting the Hebrew Genesis 1:1 as "brought forth" means "by begetting them; by literally siring them."

Without examining his understanding of Taylor's Hebrew usage, permit me to apologize to those millions of endowed LDS women who do not look forward to becoming a "divine mother" if it means "producing" literally billions of spirit "children," given the best estimates of earth's population to date.

The brethren have been cautioning against this purely speculative notion regarding humankind's ante-mortal origins for many decades. Example: Joseph Fielding Smith wrote, "Some of our writers have endeavored to explain what an intelligence is, but to do so is futile, for we have never been given any insight into this matter beyond what the Lord has fragmentarily revealed. We know, however, that

there is something called intelligence which always existed. It is the real eternal part of man, which was not created nor made. This intelligence combined with the spirit constitutes a spiritual identity or individual" (*The Progress of Man* [Salt Lake City: Utah Genealogical Society, 1936], 11). Despite this and related cautions, popular Mormon cultural mythology continues to produce fictional accounts which parallel Nephi Anderson's old *Added Upon* with "begotten spirit children" growing up and interacting with a heavenly mother prior to coming to earth.

I submit that what is being "added upon" here is pure speculation not supported by scriptural revelation. I do not look with pleasure upon a vision of my eternal companion as a kind of queen bee baby factory endlessly producing such entities as are implicit above.

"That by him [the Only Begotten of the Father] and through him, and of him, the worlds are and were created, and the inhabitants thereof are begotten sons and daughters UNTO God" (D&C 76:24) has been used by some to support the notion of "intelligences" being transformed into "spirit children" via some unspecified process implicitly involving procreative activity. Again I submit this is pure speculation, since what the Lord meant by the above verse can be and has been interpreted variously. General authorities have been privately cautioning each other for over a century on this matter.

B. H. Roberts took exception to the neo-absolutist view that man, as an autonomous individual, was "created." Elaborating on the views expressed in his "new Witness for God," Roberts read a statement to the First Presidency supporting belief in the existence of "independent, uncreated, self-existent intelligences." Roberts claimed that even before spiritual birth and consequent organization of a spirit body, man existed as an individual, autonomous, and self-conscious entity known as an intelligence. Noting objections to his view of personal eternalism, Roberts explained man's inherent moral freedom and inequality. The First Presidency allowed Roberts to publish his views in the *Improvement Era* in April of 1907 with their appended approval: "Elder Roberts submitted the following paper to the First Presidency and a number of the Twelve Apostles, none of whom found anything objectionable in it, or contrary to the revealed word of God, and therefore favor its publication."

The notion of "spiritual birth" here must, in my view, be carefully weighed in context with Joseph Smith Jr.'s statements that: "Man was in the beginning with God. Intelligence, or the light of truth, was NOT created or made, neither indeed CAN be" (D&C 93:29-30). . . . God himself is a self-existent being. . . . Who told you that man did not exist in like manner upon the same principles? Man does exist upon the same principles. God made a tabernacle and put a spirit into it, and it became a living soul. It does NOT say in the Hebrew (Bible) that God created the spirit of man. . . . The mind of the intelligence which man possesses is co-equal with God himself" ("King Follett Discourse," April 1844, published in *Times & Season* August 15, 1844 [emphasis added]).

While indeed fragmentary, these statements alone ought to be sufficient to caution furthering of procreative notions about exalted spirit "baby factories" engaged in endless production.

The Kingdom of God Diagram: Possibly no clearer statement of the prophet Joseph Smith's theology re-

garding the concept of an eternal patriarchal order and priesthood of kings and priests, queens and priestesses, anointed and crowned in an unbroken hierarchy of Gods, extending families throughout eternity, can be found than what was published less than three years following his martyrdom. In a January 1847 editorial, Orson Hyde published something which, given its language, he may well have learned from Joseph Smith.

It begins with a simple diagram which looks like a tree, with a central trunk from which outward-extending, slanting lines emerge, each of which in turn has vertical linkages to the lines above. A crown apparently symbolizing a head God sits atop the diagram. The text suggests what might also be inferred from the passage cited above from D&C 76:24, viz, "begotten UNTO God. . ."

"The . . . diagram shows the order and unity of the kingdom of God. The eternal Father sits at the head, crowned King of kings and Lord of lords. Wherever the other lines meet, there sits a king and a priest unto God, bearing rule, authority, and dominion under the Father. He is one with the Father because his kingdom is joined to his Father's and becomes part of it.

"The most eminent and distinguished prophets who have laid down their lives for their testimonies (Jesus among the rest) will be crowned at the head of the largest kingdoms under the Father and will be one with Christ as Christ is one with his Father; for their kingdoms are all joined together, and such as do the will of the Father, the same are his mothers, sisters, and brothers [families?]. He that has been faithful over a few things, will be made ruler over many things; he that has been faithful over five talents, shall have dominion over five cities, and to every man will be given a kingdom and a dominion, according to his merit, powers, and abilities to govern and control. It will be seen by the above diagram that there are kingdoms [families?] of all sizes, an infinite variety to suit all grades of merit and ability. The chosen vessels unto God are the kings and priests that are placed at the head of these kingdoms. These have received their washings and anointings in the temple of God on this earth; they have been chosen, ordained, and anointed kings and priests, to reign as such in the resurrection of the just. Such as have not received the fullness of the priesthood (for the fullness of the priesthood includes the authority of both king and priest) and have not been anointed and ordained in the temple of the Most High, may have salvation in the celestial kingdom, but not a celestial crown. Many are called to enjoy a celestial glory, yet few are chosen to wear a celestial crown, or rather to be rulers in the celestial kingdom [Note: See Abraham 3:21-23].

"While this portion of eternity that we now live in, called time, continues and while the other portions of eternity that we may hereafter dwell in, continue. Those lines in the foregoing diagram, representing kingdoms [families?], will continue to extend and be lengthened out; and thus, the increase of our kingdoms will increase in the kingdom of our God, even as Daniel hath said: '. . . of the increase of his kingdom and government there shall be no end.' All these kingdoms are ONE kingdom, and there is a King over kings, and a Lord over lords. There are Lords many, and Gods many, for they are called Gods to whom the word of God comes, and the word of God comes to all these kings and priests. But to our branch of the king-

dom there is but one God, to whom we all owe the most perfect submission and loyalty; yet our God is just as subject to still higher intelligences, as we should be to him.

". . . These kingdoms, which are one kingdom, are designed to extend till they not only embrace THIS world, but every other planet that rolls in the blue vault of heaven. Thus will all things be gathered in one during the dispensation of the fullness of times, and the Saints will not only possess the earth, but all things else, for, says Paul, 'All things are yours, whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, or the world, or life, or death, or things present, or things to come; all are yours, and ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's'" (Orson Hyde, "A Diagram of the Kingdom of God," *Millennial Star*, 15 January 1847, 9:23-24) [brackets mine].

Could Hyde's model be applied to numberless families and their progeny, obviating the need for a single couple to become "spirit parents" of billions, all assigned to one earth? I do not know. However, perpetuating unsupported, speculative notions does not at all seem a spiritually attractive alternative. Factually, we know little or nothing about what a "begotten spirit child" is, or if indeed that is a correct description.

Robert M. Fame
Lincoln, Nebraska

Old Apologetics

I'm constantly amazed by the cognitive dissonance of those who attempt to respond to my research and interpretations. In reviewing my essay "Prophet Puzzle Revisited," Vol. 31, no. 3 (Fall 1998), Armand Mauss, in his letter, Vol. 32, no. 2 (Summer 1999), does not even use my name once let alone respond directly to my essay's thesis, which was an attempt to resolve Jan Shipps's "Prophet Puzzle" by "suggest[ing] that Smith was a 'pious deceiver' or 'sincere fraud,' someone who deceives to achieve holy objectives." The primary evidence supporting this thesis was not Smith's many contradictions, as Mauss asserts, but rather "instances in which he articulated the ideas and principles upon which a pious deception could be founded."

Mauss calls my evidence speculative and criticizes my use of qualifying and equivocal language. My evidence, however, was not speculative, but interpretive. Indeed, the reviewer seems to confuse the two terms. The former implies a lack of evidence while the latter connotes a reasonable explanation of the evidence. Hence, my use of D&C 19:7 and Abraham 2:22-25 as instances in which Smith portrays God as sometimes authoring deception is not speculative, nor is it mere prooftexting as Mauss asserts, but rather contextually sound and interpretively reasonable. Mauss makes no attempt to overturn my interpretation of those passages, but simply applies disparaging labels, and in so doing commits the categorical fallacy.

While my essay is interpretive, it is far from another category Mauss tries to associate it with: psychobiography. Methodologically the two are worlds apart. There is no attempt in my essay to find meaning in Smith's childhood nor to ascribe subconscious motivations to Smith's behavior. Nevertheless, Mauss seems to be a naive purist, who thinks biography and psychology can be completely separated. Or that history is a simple scientific marshaling of facts. My presentation dealt with Smith's thoughts, to be sure,

but only insofar as his own words and actions revealed.

While I caution against seeing Smith in either/or terms—that is, as either a true prophet or a malicious charlatan—this does not exclude the possibility that either/or situations might arise in Smith's life. I therefore argue, for example, that either Smith had a real set of ancient plates, which he allowed his family and others to feel through a cloth, or he constructed them himself, perhaps out of scrap tin. In this situation, the unconscious fraud theory becomes untenable since it requires multiple hallucinations, even of Smith's enemies. Another either/or situation that I discussed was Josiah Stowell's 1826 testimony of finding a feather five feet underground as Smith had predicted. Since self-deluded magicians do not accomplish such feats, Smith either saw the treasure and feather or he planted the feather there, probably while digging. Thus, in providing proof for his claims, Smith moved out of the mental/spiritual realm into the physical world and thereby created the either/or situation himself. Nevertheless, in my essay I was careful to separate Smith's possibly fraudulent activities from his self-perception, which Mauss seems to have missed. Thus, I argued that Smith may have believed himself to be a prophet, but, for whatever reason, he used deception to more fully accomplish his mission.

In attempting to excuse Smith's career as a treasure seer, Mauss resorts to old apologetic and refuses to be ruffled by "puzzles." My presentation of Stowell's finding a feather while digging for treasure was designed to force Mormon historians to deal directly and specifically with the implications of Smith's treasure-seeing rather than continue an apologetic that can only be maintained on a superficial and generalized level of discussion. Here an observation Dale Morgan made about Bernard DeVoto's unconscious fraud thesis comes to mind. Despite the advantages of DeVoto's explanation, Morgan said, "As I get out of the realm of beautiful thinking and wrestle with obstinate facts which have to be set one in front of the other in some kind of order—I find the conception untenable." So let's consider one of those "obstinate facts." How did Smith locate the feather? What happened to the treasure Smith said was buried with the feather? Did it slip away through the ground? Mauss obviously does not like these questions, so he treats them as "biographical complexities" that need not be explained. This violates a fundamental principle in both science and history which defines progress as a resolution of such anomalies. The discovery of a feather underground demands explanation: was it buried with the treasure, as Smith claimed, or was it planted there by Smith? This is not a false dichotomy, but rather an event in Smith's life that the biographer must deal with if he is to be taken seriously. Mauss does a disservice to himself and his readers by confusing this event with the normal "ad hoc and contradictory pronouncements and behavior across time, as individuals seek to assimilate changing experiences and understanding." For one thing, I did not present the feather as a contradiction, but as evidence that Smith sometimes engaged in deception as a treasure seer. His subsequent use of the same stone to translate the Book of Mormon makes this evidence especially meaningful for understanding his career as a prophet.

Mauss criticizes my essay for its "lack of comparative context," meaning I do not make analogies between

Joseph Smith and other historical figures "from other contexts," which the reviewer believes will bring "comparison and balance" to my essay. This is nothing more than an apologist's attempt to water down or dilute the significance of my evidence, specifically Smith's willingness to use deception for religious purposes and the resultant moral quandary in which he found himself. Simply the fact that others in history have undoubtedly faced moral dilemmas, generally, tells us very little about Joseph Smith's specific circumstance. The reviewer would do well to study what David Hackett Fischer has written on fallacies of false analogy, particularly the "fallacy of the perfect analogy," which "consists in reasoning from a partial resemblance between two entities to an entire and exact correspondence.": Because an analogy is always partial, it can only be used as an illustration, not as evidence "in either an existential or an evaluative way."[1]

Nevertheless, Mauss has again missed the point of my discussion about Smith's private and public beliefs. I did not argue that Smith was unique in this regard, only that his private beliefs have been neglected by historians. Neither did I argue that the disparity between Smith's private and public persona was in itself proof of fraud, as Mauss insinuates.

Mauss also misrepresents my discussion of Smith's early Universalism. I did not argue that Smith was a fraud because he had concealed this belief from many of his followers. Nor was I concerned because Smith made later modifications to this doctrine. But rather I was particularly interested in Universalism as an aspect of Smith's private belief system because it explains "Smith's ability to rationalize his fraudulent activities, both as a treasure seer and later as a prophet." Seeing Smith as a committed Universalist, even while dictating the Book of Mormon, is an important element in his mind-set. Mauss seems stuck in an old apologetic rut, which he rehearses despite its irrelevance to my thesis.

Again, Mauss misses an important point in my discussion of Smith's activities as a treasure seer when he accuses me of being dismissive of "the plausible explanations of Quinn and Bushman." That Smith outgrew magic? I acknowledged that Smith's transformation from magician to prophet is evident, but I disputed the implication that a distinct dividing line could be drawn between the two roles and argued that there was some overlap. Historians and apologists must deal with the fact that Smith translated the Book of Mormon with the same stone previously used to discover slippery treasures. That cultural anthropologists sometimes discuss the evolution from magic to religion as a concept in the history of ideas is of questionable relevance to Joseph Smith's particular circumstance. Regardless, Mauss has again failed to discuss a major aspect of my essay.

Mauss creates a straw man when he represents me as claiming that "since we know magic isn't 'real,' Joseph Smith should have known it; and if he did, then he was deliberately deceiving people. . . . If he didn't know, then he was himself a dupe." A more accurate representation might read as follows: since we know treasures do

1. David Hackett Fisher, *Historian's Fallacies: Toward a Logic of Historical Thought* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), 247-51.

not move through the earth by magic enchantment, Smith was either deceptive or deluded. Nevertheless, the generalized wording allows Mauss to argue that magic-minded people always have an "escape clause" to explain failure. The reviewer then attempts to make an analogy between magic and Mormon administration to the sick. The problem is that the analogy works only in general application, but breaks down when applied to the specifics of Joseph Smith's case (the breakdown is known as the *fallacy of accident*). Smith claimed to see both treasures and their guardian spirits in his stone. Were the treasures real, imagined, or invented? If real, why were they not recovered? If imagined, how did Smith predict the discovery of a feather? The simplest explanation is that Smith planted the feather, perhaps during the process of digging. One either incorporates enchanted treasures into one's belief system, as Quinn apparently has, or allows the possibility that Smith used deception to advance his treasure-seeing career.

The purpose of my essay was not to prove or disprove Smith a prophet, but to offer a new paradigm in which to understand his words and behavior. The strength of such essays lies not in the presentation of new evidence, but in their power to explain and interpret already existing information and to solve apparent incongruities, something I think my essay does.

Dan Vogel
Westerville, Ohio

Brilliant Offering

I would place Ostler's latest *Dialogue* offering, "Mormonism and Determinism" (Winter 1999) certainly within the "Top Ten" essays—excluding divine revelation—ever written in Mormon Christian history and perhaps within the "Top Five" (Frances Menlove's "The Challenge of Honesty," *Dialogue* vol. 1, no. 1, Spring 1966, remains at the top of my list, but the new e-savvy FAIR, Kerry Shirts, and other burgeoning LDS websites are beginning to run a pleasant competition for my "top" awards). Ostler's articulation of a category of libertarianism, "universal cause libertarianism," apparently unknown to L. Rex Sears, whose position Ostler labels "classical necessitarian causal determinism," rebuts not merely Sears, whose own earlier published pro-determinist Mormon conclusions may hereafter be safely ignored, but simultaneously *with* Sears properly assails orthodox Christian notions of absolute divine foreknowledge at odds with human free will. "While I agree with Sears," he concedes, "that infallible foreknowledge is inconsistent with human free will . . . " (43). Ostler will later correctly note the general failure of Mormon Christians to appreciate the above important truth, or to understand precisely how LDS human preexistence/innate freedom—hence, the notion of a "limited" God vis-a-vis Christian orthodox absolutism—fully explains Theodicy and the classical Problem of Evil, which remain utterly intractable in orthodox Judeo/Christian circles.

LDS theology is the only Christian theology on earth which *can* explain the Problem of Evil, one of many insurmountable impediments to orthodoxy's extreme concept of God. Yet no LDS author has yet published this important fact or argued it persuasively. It is precisely here that LDS thought needs to contrast its own correctly principled groundwork *against* that

of orthodox Judeo/Christianity, to demonstrate the superiority of the former over the latter. It is significant that Mormon Christianity easily explains the evil that orthodox Christianity cannot explain at all, except by its denial of human free will (both Augustine and Luther), an erroneous and infernal avowal of human decrepitude utterly foreign to Jesus' gospel.

Sears argues that the scriptures are incompatible with the view that God does not infallibly foreknow all free acts of humans. This assumption is quite common [and incorrect, as Ostler fully demonstrates] among [a majority of] Latter-day Saints. "How then do those who believe God's foreknowledge is limited explain biblical prophecy and faith in God's certain triumph over evil" (50-51)? Unthinking Mormon Christians apparently never see the power of a "limited" deity over an "absolute" deity. In the words of one of Ostler's earlier essays: "The idea of static, absolute perfection must be replaced, I believe, with the idea of perfection as a dynamic creativity that acts to enhance the happiness of others and by so doing enhances its own happiness. As one non-Mormon theologian observed, 'It is in fact extraordinary that Christian theologians have been so mesmerized by Greek [absolutist] concepts of perfection that they have been unable to develop a more truly Christian idea of God whose revealed nature is love'" (Keith Ward, quoted in Blake Ostler, "The Concept of a Finite God as an Adequate Object of Worship" in *Line Upon Line: Essays on Mormon Doctrine*, ed. Gary James Bergera [Salt Lake City, Utah: Signature Books, 1989], 79). The requirement that God must be unconditioned to be worthy of worship is unreasonable both because it is incoherent and because the being it describes is not available for religious purposes:

"Faith requires that the object of its hope be minimally sufficient to bring about the realization of the maximally valuable state of affairs. The contemporary Mormon concept of a finite God *is* an adequate object of faith because all individuals, indeed all aspects of reality, look to him for the realization of all that matters most ultimately. The Mormon God is, thus, the Optimal Actualizer. "God makes all things possible, but he can make all things actual only by working in conjunction with free individuals and actual entities. Hence, Mormonism does not shy away from recognizing humans as co-creators in God's purposes. God needs us and we need him for the realization of all that matters most. We are truly co-laborers, for growth of any nature or realized potential is impossible without him" (Blake Ostler, "The Concept of a Finite God, 79-80).

Gerry L. Ensley.
Los Alamitos, California
Geensle@yahoo.com

Sears Responds

As I noted in "Determinist Mansions in the Mormon House" (Dialogue vol. 31, no. 4, Winter 1998), one of my principal aims in that essay was to invigorate an apparently moribund area of discussion, so I was gratified to see Blake Ostler's "Mormonism and Determinism" in the Winter 1999 issue. Naturally, I disagree with certain representations Ostler makes both of the views expressed in my paper and of the relevant issues, and I am writing to correct what I see as some of the more important mischaracterizations. The following is not comprehensive,

but it hits most of the highlights, roughly in the order that they appear in Ostler's essay.

As a careful reader might glean from the title and text of my "Determinist Mansions," I do not regard Mormonism as unequivocally committed either to determinism or libertarianism. I think that certain aspects of Mormon thought fit more comfortably with determinism than with its denial, but I also think that here, as elsewhere, disparate elements of the Mormon tradition militate in favor of contrary conclusions. In a related vein, while I think that doctrines favoring determinism, like divine foreknowledge, are more thoroughly interwoven in the fabric of Mormon thought than might be apparent at first glance, I certainly have not and would not maintain that any of those doctrines are "non-negotiable for Mormons": foreknowledge has deep roots (deeper than Ostler's selective presentation recognizes), but I lack the arrogance to dismiss as not truly Mormon B. H. Roberts and others who, I freely admit, have argued for modification or limitation of that doctrine.

Turning to more specific matters, Ostler concludes that I am unaware "that there is a distinction among uc-libertarianism and pa-libertarianism." I'm not uninformed, just unconvinced. I have heard people say things like: "causal conditions must be adequate for whatever occurs, but do not necessitate their effects"; I just haven't had any luck making sense of those claims. Just before Ostler's paper came out in *Dialogue*, I was pointed to an electronic draft Ostler posted on the internet, in which he said causal conditions must be "sufficient," rather than adequate, for whatever occurs. I gather that Ostler substituted "adequate" for "sufficient" because as a matter of logic, identifying x as a *sufficient* condition of y is equivalent to identifying y as a necessary condition of x: i.e., if x is sufficient for y, then x presupposes y; given x, y must follow. Ostler might have dodged the logical difficulty by substituting "adequate" for "sufficient," but now I don't know what he means by "adequate." More generally, I remain unpersuaded that it makes sense to "affirm the universality of causal relations, but hold that given the prior causal conditions, several effects could follow."

Along the same lines, Ostler is simply mistaken when he asserts that "no libertarian holds that free acts are merely random events": William James, for one, bluntly asserted that he believed in "chance," and expressly eschewed any other interpretation of his libertarianism. In any event, the interesting question is not whether libertarians openly recognize free actions as random, but whether an indeterministic choice can sensibly be characterized in any other way.

Ostler's misreading of my argument from conservation suggests that greater elaboration of that argument in my original essay would have been helpful. Ostler mistakenly reports that I regard the view "that pre-existing energy is consumed in making choices" as ad hoc. In fact, I characterized as ad hoc the view "that exercises of free will introduce pairs of compensating forces"—a view whose relevance is best understood against the backdrop of the surrounding discussion. The problem libertarianism poses for a system of thought committed to conservation principles is the apparent introduction of new forces. Mere conversion of ambient energy into new forces would not solve the problem because forces are vector quantities having not only magnitude but also direc-

tion. Hence I suggested that a libertarian could avoid the problem by positing the introduction of compensating pairs of forces, that sum to zero. It is this contemplated but apparently inescapable introduction of a second, compensating force for every force originated by a libertarian free will that I characterized as ad hoc.

By the way, I never claimed "that the relation between the Mormon view rejecting *creation ex nihilo* and determinism is 'undeniable'": my actual conclusion was that "the *tension* between libertarian thought and a *strong* commitment to conservation principles cannot be denied."

Ostler finds my view of petitionary prayer incoherent because he insists that, on my view, God must infallibly foreknow the future containing whatever response God makes to foreseen prayer before God determines his response to that prayer. In so doing, Ostler misrepresents or ignores the Talmage-inspired explanation of foreknowledge that I play upon in my essay. On the Talmage model, God derives his foreknowledge thus: God takes stock of the present state of the universe and then starts applying his knowledge of general law and of particular actors and other entities in the universe to make predictions about future events; during this process, God correctly predicts that Ostler will offer a petitionary prayer at time t; God then decides what his own response will be, plugs that response into the predictive calculus at the appropriate place, and continues deriving more predictions. Before making his decision, God might develop models both of what will happen if he does as Ostler asks, and of what will happen if he doesn't, to help him make a better informed decision. But nothing in this model requires God to foresee his response before making his decision; and as discussed more fully in my essay, there is no reason to suppose that determinism entails any change in the look and feel of God's own deliberation about what his own response will be (which contrasts essentially with the look and feel of God's prediction of what Ostler's choices will be).

Of course Ostler uncritically assumes that if determinism is true, then nobody—God included—ever really deliberates. I addressed this in my original essay, observing that our personal histories can be told from distinct perspectives; and while I am cognizant of hazards attendant on the comparison, I believe the situation can be clarified by analogizing from the case of a computer. The operations of a computer can be described in purely logical terms (assuming no hardware malfunctions), and that same operation can be described with reference to the deterministic disposition of electrical current in the hardware. It makes perfect sense to say that the computer displayed a certain output because it reached a certain point in a logical decision tree, and the availability of the physical level of explanation does not render the logical level either erroneous or superfluous. Mightn't something similar be true of human deliberations?

By way of clarification of my personal views, I am a committed compatibilist—that is, I am fairly certain that determinism does not conflict with our status as morally responsible agents—but I am not decidedly determinist or indeterminist. I have determinist leanings, but not because I believe that science has proven determinism.

I take issue with other of Ostler's characterizations of my essay; e.g., I do not espouse character determinism, I expressly rejected Madsen's answer to

the consequence argument, and my comments about quantum mechanics were misunderstood. At another time and place, I would welcome the opportunity to address Ostler's arguments more fully, but I fear that I may have already taken full advantage of the hospitality I might reasonably expect the editors and readers of this journal to extend.

L. Rex Sears
Salt Lake City, Utah

Ostler Replies

Rex Sears has provided a thoughtful response to my article "Mormonism and Determinism." Given space limitations, perhaps the best I can do here is point out areas of further discussion. For example, Sears says that he is puzzled over just what it could mean to say that a cause is adequate but not sufficient for an effect to occur. I would have thought that the meaning was quite clear—it means that the prior causes explain but do not necessitate an outcome. Quantum physics gives us actual examples of such conditions that are adequate but not sufficient to explain why an electron behaves as it does. In any given trial, an electron may be emitted, but the prior causes are not sufficient to explain why an electron lands where it does although the causes are adequate to explain the occurrence.

However, Sears has pointed to a deep problem in philosophy—the problem of describing and explaining causation. Is causation simply a constant conjunction or is there something necessary in a causal connection? When is a cause sufficient? What is an adequate explanation of causation? These are deep philosophical issues that have been dealt with by philosophers such as Aristotle, Aquinas, Kant, Swinburne, Mackie, and Toolie, to name only a few. I could not adequately address that issue given space constraints, so I admit that my shorthand definition for an "adequate but not sufficient cause" must be more fully fleshed out. However, since Sears took causation as a basic term in its common-use sense, I treated it the same way.

It seems to me that Sears still misses the point as to why God cannot respond to prayer if causal determinism is true if *God himself is within the material world as Mormonism claims.* It is true that Sears does not *explicitly* say that God must also foresee what his own response will be to human prayers. However, Sears misses my point. I claim that such a claim is *implicit* in his position. If God sees all of the causes as the basis of his decisions, then he also sees that the causes necessitate a specific decision will be made by him in response to a prayer. *The key is that the causes of God's decision are already there in full detail before God can "deliberate" or review the causes.* God is thus stuck with a causally determined future as much as we are. It follows that God's "answer" to the prayer is the result of causes prior to God's deliberations rather than God's deliberations about it. It seems to me that Sears must either take God out of the sequence of cause and effect, which contradicts the Mormon view that God is in some sense a part of the material world, or he must deny universal causal determinism.

Sears also seriously misrepresents William James by equating a discussion of "chance" in nature and human choices with "random indeterminism." They are not the same. James would reject any notion that human actions

are merely arbitrary or random. However, space simply does not allow for a competent discussion about this sidenote on one of my favorite philosophers.

Sears also asserts that I uncritically assume that if determinism is true, then no one ever deliberates. That wasn't my argument. My argument was that persons may deliberate, but if determinism is true then their actions are never the result of *rational* deliberations, nor are human choices guided by rationality; rather, every act is the result of causes that existed before the person ever thought about it. Sears does not respond to my argument for that conclusion. Further, it is incorrect to say that I "uncritically assume" that view because I give a detailed argument for that view. However, the nature of rational deliberation is also a deep-seated philosophical problem that merits further discussion. Thus, I am grateful for Sears' comments on these subjects and look forward to further dialogue—after all, that is what *Dialogue* is for!

Blake T. Ostler
Salt Lake City, Utah
e-mail at *bostler@bcowlaw.com*

A Fan's Notes

Around and around it goes, the great game continues with Blake Ostler's response ("Mormonism and Determinism," *Dialogue* vol. 32, no. 4: 43-71) to Rex Sears's stimulating exercise in theological evangelizing ("Determinist Mansions in the Mormon House," *Dialogue* vol. 31, no. 4: 115-141). Now I love a good argument as much as anyone, and the Ostler/Sears debate is no exception. I also love watching a good football game, struggles of mind and body, the physical and the mental. On behalf of those of us spectators with only average intellectual/athletic abilities, I watch in amazement at the beauty of these human dramas. However, after the contest I'm satisfied with the entertainment value; I'm cognizant of the cheap thrill and eagerly await the next occasion to open my wallet for another fix. Thank you, Blake; thank you, Rex, for the match.

As a skeptic, I adhere to Occam's dictum that no more things should be presumed to exist than are necessary to explain a phenomenon. With the Ostler/Sears debate, we are treated to an example of the ethereal meandering that for centuries has accompanied religious questions. Most people live on the surface of profound questions, engaging in polite social niceties, performing perfunctory rituals, never scratching below the fuzzy, thin skin holding the massy ooze together because to breach simplistic religious systems may suffocate the honest inquirer. To embrace a theology intellectually, one must become an intellectual contortionist. The alternative—for the free will/determinist struggle—is at once simple and terrifying, rendering the debate empty. With just four words I challenge the countervailing arguments—"there is no God"—and thus the deep, cutting razor of William of Occam bleeds and deflates all such wrangling. Compare this simple stroke with the complex assumptions that must proceed the Ostler/Sears quagmire. In descending order: 1) that God exists, 2) that God cares a wit about this spec of dust we inhabit, 3) that God's interest in us is beneficent, contrary to the preponderance of evidence, 4) that God's will is embodied in free floating, a-historical holy writ,

5) that the Mormon canon is more authoritative and correct than any other, allowing Ostler to embellish heavily from it, even though the best and brightest of Mormons (Ostler, Sears, et al.) with all the tools of modern revealed religion cannot agree on these "plain and precious" matters.

At the end of the match, we may feel invigorated by intellectual adrenaline, we may perhaps have increased hope that, even should a giant asteroid slam into Earth, wiping out all life, that snuffed-out life will have had meaning. A pessimistic view? Perhaps. But believing that Uri Gellor can bend metal by the power of his mind does not make it so. When asked about God's self sacrifice on the cross, Tertullian answered "*Credo quia absurdum*": I believe because it's absurd.

Steve Oakey
Rexburg, Idaho.

The Discovery of Native "Mormon" Communities in Russia

Tania Rands Lyon[1]

IN EARLY JUNE 1998, Sheridan Gashler, president of the Russia Samara Mission, felt moved to place missionaries in a small village called Bogdanovka. This was an exciting change in policy. Early LDS missionary work in Russia had been concentrated in large urban areas where most missionaries could enjoy such civilized luxuries as paved roads, frequent public transportation, telephone lines, and running water. In recent years missions branched into smaller cities, but the Russian *village* was an altogether new frontier. Bogdanovka, although it is only 100 miles or so from the large regional capital city of Samara, is a world apart.

On their first reconnaissance trip, President Gashler, with his assistants and the mission driver, set out east from Samara until gray, concrete, high-rise apartment buildings gave way to immense rolling fields of grain, corn, and sunflowers. The Soviet legacy of massive collective farming left no small homesteads to break up the horizons that stretched along the two-lane road connecting the towns and villages of the Samara province, a territory roughly the size of South Carolina.

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1. This article is the fruit of close cooperation with a number of people. The author is especially indebted to Sheridan Gashler, president of the Russia Samara Mission (1998-present), Gary Browning, president of the Helsinki East and Russia Moscow Missions (1990-1993), Don Jarvis, president of the Russia Moscow and Russia Yekaterinburg Missions (1996-1999) as well as to James Scott, Heather Frushour, Alida Purves, Brent Van Every, Dan Jones, Dmitri Slinkov, and many others who willingly shared their time and stories. For funding research trips to the Samara province, the author thanks Richard Rands and Janet Brigham. And for invaluable detective work and editing assistance, the author is grateful to John B. Lyon and Cherie K. Woodworth. An earlier version of this paper was delivered at the Sunstone West Symposium in April 1999.

It was late in the day when they first drove down Bogdanovka's single paved road, and they caught the village mayor just as he was closing up the administrative building for the night. He agreed to hear them out, however, and was surprisingly open to having two Americans live and proselytize in his small jurisdiction. He asked a few questions about this foreign religion, and upon hearing the name of the church and being introduced to a copy of the Book of Mormon, he gently interrupted his guests: "Ah! Well you know," he said, "we already have Mormons here."

The Lost Book

I first heard this story from a pair of missionaries over a homemade burrito dinner on the Fourth of July, 1998. I was living with a Russian LDS family in the city of Saratov, one of the larger cities in the Samaran mission, while I conducted research for my dissertation. I knew well that no LDS missionaries had ever proselytized in the countryside, so how could there be any Mormons in a place like Bogdanovka? President Gashler naturally dismissed the mayor's assertion as some sort of misunderstanding.

A week later, however, when they returned to the village to install two elders in their new area, the missionaries were approached by an excited, middle-aged woman who had seen the Book of Mormon in the village administrator's possession and wanted a copy for herself. She explained that she herself was a Mormon as her parents and grandparents had been before her. She brought them to her home, the elders' story continued, and showed them a large, heavy book weighing over twenty pounds, hand-written and very old, which she said was her family's "Book of Mormon."

I had heard several rumors of "Mormons" living in parts of southern Russia during the Soviet era, but nothing had ever been confirmed. Here was potentially hard physical evidence of something very exciting. The next night I called the mission president himself and had him tell me the story again. Was it true about the book, I asked? President Gashler described it again just as the elders had. With his permission I began to plan a research trip to Samara. I hoped most of all to find that book and see it for myself.

In late July, I took an overnight train to Samara and went immediately to the mission office to meet with President Gashler. It wasn't until that first face to face conversation that I learned an important detail: no one had actually *seen* the book. The woman in Bogdanovka had only described it to the missionaries. When they asked to see it, she said she had given it away the last time she moved and didn't know where it was anymore. I was crushed and even a little embarrassed. I felt I had fallen victim to the American fascination with a vast and tantalizingly mysterious Russia—a fascination amplified by Mormon folklore.

The Mormon Mythology of Russia

As the first missionaries to the Ukraine when the Soviet Union had just dissolved, we found our work building the Kingdom in the former "Evil Empire," in fact, sometimes weighted with portent and mystery. Stories of both confirmed and dubious origins circulated freely. Talk of bringing the restored Gospel to the land of Russia is documented as early as 1843. The prophet Joseph Smith, for example, enigmatically pronounced that a planned mission to Russia (left unfulfilled in his lifetime) would involve "some of the most important things concerning the advancement and building up of the kingdom of God in the last days, which cannot be explained at this time."[2]

In the Missionary Training Center we were barraged with questions like: "Is it true that your mission call is for three years?" and "Do you really have to stay in the MTC for six months because Russian is such a difficult language to learn?" Some people had heard that the letters we received announcing our mission calls were highly secretive, containing only instructions to telephone a certain Apostle for further details.[3] In the mission field, we heard the apocryphal story of Elder Widstoe's 1932 prophecy in Czechoslovakia to a small group of missionaries. He purportedly proclaimed that Communism would break the Orthodox church, that Communism would one day pass away overnight, and that when it did whole towns and villages would be converted to the Gospel. Even though this "prophecy" was called into serious doubt as early as 1990, for years afterwards the story was passed among missionaries with appreciative reverence.[4]

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2. D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994), 132. Quinn suggests that the missionary certificate to Russia, signed by Joseph and Hyrum Smith as a commission from the Council of Fifty, was "a ministerial cover for a theocratic ambassador." Even more cryptic is Quinn's finding that Almon W. Babbitt, Joseph Smith's appointed ambassador to France, later told the Council of Fifty "that 'the Russian Mission' was connected with Uriah Brown's invention 'to destroy an army or navy.'" No other records shed light on this bizarre statement.

3. In spring 1999, these same rumors began circulating about church members being secretly called for three-year missions to mainland China by phone calls from general authorities.

4. Dennis Lythgoe attempted to trace this story to its roots and ascertained that the missionary who reported Elder Widstoe's prophecy apparently wrote it down decades after the event and the prophecy was not remembered or recorded separately by the other ten missionaries in attendance at the time. See "Widtsoe 'Prophecy' Makes the Mormon Folklore Circuit." *Sunstone* 14, no. 1 (February 1990), 54. For a review of how Mormon faith-promoting stories originate and spread, especially among missionaries, see William Wilson's monograph, *On Being Human: The Folklore of Mormon Missionaries* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1981).

Then there is the faith-promoting tale of a conversation between Andrew D. White, a non-LDS American professor from Cornell University, and Count Leo Tolstoi, the great writer and moral thinker of nineteenth century Russia. According to this account, Tolstoi voiced deep admiration for Mormonism, saying: "If the people follow the teachings of this Church, nothing can stop their progress—it will be limitless. There have been great movements started in the past, but they have died or been modified before they reached maturity. If Mormonism is able to endure, unmodified, until it reaches the third and fourth generation, it is destined to become the greatest power the world has ever known." In spite of a 1971 article by Russian historian Leland Fetzer deconstructing this reported conversation in well-researched detail, the story has been almost canonized by its reprinting in the LDS classic *A Marvelous Work and a Wonder*.[5] The Samaran mission office had reprinted Russian translations of the story, presumably for circulation among members.

Many LDS Americans have expressed their belief that the ten lost tribes of Israel, in scattering to the north, had settled into the vast spaces of Russia and Ukraine. When I first met President Gashler and we surveyed a map of his mission boundaries, he swept the area with his hand and told me that here was where the ten tribes could be found. He then related to me that many of the young Russian converts who had made their way to BYU in the last few years have been told in their patriarchal blessings that they are of the tribes of Dan, Asher, and others.

Some LDS members have posted queries to internet chat groups about Russia's "Lost Cities" or "Secret Cities"—could they be home to the lost tribes? These were most likely references to cities dominated by large military-industrial complexes and closed to foreigners for security reasons; in Russian they would translate best as "closed cities." There are also rumors of a Siberian village so remote that when it was discovered in 1992 the residents, descendants of refugees from the oppression of tsarism, had never

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5. In his article Fetzer explores fully the known relationship of Tolstoi to Mormonism in his writings and correspondence. Tolstoi expressed an ardent interest in religions all over the world and was well-loved by many for his championing of persecuted religious minorities in Russia, including the Jews. He was, however, extremely averse to the trappings and hierarchy of organized religion. His thoughts on Mormonism were not entirely positive, as evidenced by this 1889 entry in his journal: "I read both the Mormon Bible and the life of Smith and I was horrified. Yes, religion, religion proper, is the product of deception, lies for a good purpose. An illustration of this is obvious, extreme in the deception: The Life of Smith; but also other religions, religions proper, only in differing degrees." See Leland Fetzer, "Tolstoy and Mormonism," Dialogue: *A Journal of Mormon Thought* 6, no. 1 (Spring 1971): 13-29. For the full story of Professor White's purported conversation with Tolstoi, see LeGrand Richards, *A Marvelous Work and a Wonder* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1950), 412-414. The story first appeared in the February 1939 edition of *The Improvement Era*.

heard of the "Soviet Union." Could we not stumble some day onto whole villages of Israelite descendants, complete with ephods[6] and their own version of the Old Testament scriptures? Or if Christ indeed appeared to people other than the Jews and the Nephites, and if there are records of such a visit, certainly Russia could be harboring such secrets in its unexplored vastness, waiting to be discovered. And indeed, as President Gashler and I pondered the potential sources for this newly described Russian "Book of Mormon," he suggested just such a possible origin—perhaps it was a third testament of Jesus Christ. The great Mother Russia, full of mystery, has always seemed poised to host the fulfillment of grand prophecies in Mormon folklore.

The LDS Church in Russia

The official LDS record of early Mormonism in Russia is very sparse, but we do have isolated references to missionary work before 1990 when Gary Browning became the first mission president to live there. In 1843 Orson Hyde and George G. Adams were called by Joseph Smith on a mission to Russia, the first non-English-speaking country to be selected for missionary work by the prophet and only the third foreign mission after Canada and Great Britain. The men were first delayed, apparently for lack of funds. After Joseph Smith was martyred, the calling was never filled.[7]

Decades later, the church found its first entry point into Russia through a Finnish couple living in St. Petersburg. Johan and Alma Lindelof had heard about the LDS church years earlier from Johan's mother in Finland. They began corresponding with the Swedish Mission president, and in 1895 an elder was sent to baptize them—the earliest known baptism on Russian soil. By 1905, at least two of the Lindelof children and another Finnish woman living in St. Petersburg were baptized. In 1918 the Bolsheviks sentenced the Lindelofs with their seven children to prison labor camps where some of them died.[8]

In 1903, Apostle Francis M. Lyman dedicated Russia to missionary work by offering prayers in both St. Petersburg and Moscow. But the church was becoming embroiled in the Reed-Smoot hearings at home, and in spite of Russian freedom of conscience laws passed in 1904 and 1905, the climate for non-Orthodox religions was far from hospitable. Church leadership decided not to send missionaries at that time.

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6. A richly embroidered outer vestment worn by priests in Jewish antiquity.

7. Gary Browning, *Russia and the Restored Gospel* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company, 1997), 3-5. Browning's book is one of the best available overviews of the history of the LDS church in Russia.

8. Browning, 10-12.

John Noble, an American survivor of Soviet labor camps in the decade following World War II made three mysterious references to Mormons in his memoirs. While imprisoned in Vorkuta, an infamous slave-labor mining camp near the Arctic Circle, Noble recalls meeting people from a variety of faiths: Roman Catholics, Greek Orthodox priests, Lutherans, a Jewish rabbi, a Mennonite bishop, Seventh-Day Adventists, Jehovah's Witnesses, "and even a Mormon missionary."[9] Later he writes of denominational gatherings behind the barbed wire of the camp: "Sometimes literally only 'two or three' men would gather in His name, as was the case with the Mormons."[10] Finally he describes in slightly more detail:

> Assisting the [Mennonite] bishop in the stockroom was another elderly man, a Mormon. The Mormons in Soviet Russia and its satellite countries are a very small group. They are also relentlessly persecuted, due to the fact that belief in the Book of Mormon originated in the United States and that the international headquarters of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day [sic] Saints is located in Salt Lake City, Utah. Therefore, [in] addition to persecution for the religious beliefs, they are further suspected of being actively pro-American.
>
> Conversion to the Mormon faith was tantamount to a life sentence at the hands of the Communists, yet I noticed that this small group preferred to surrender worldly freedom than to give up their belief in Christ and in what they considered Christ's latter-day revelations. There were only a handful of Mormons in our compound but on their days off they would always meet for meditation and prayer.[11]

We have no other official LDS records of pre-perestroika Mormons in Russia, and the identity of the "Mormon missionary" in Vorkuta is unknown.

The 19th-Century Russian Religious Revival

Any solution to the mystery of the Bogdanovka Mormons and the missing book would have to take into account Russia's own religious history. Orthodoxy is not the only religion "native" to Russia. Particularly in the late 18th and 19th centuries, Russia went through a period of religious revival comparable to the religious fervor that swept nineteenth-century New England. A large number of reformist religious groups emerged calling for unmediated personal relationships with God and the Spirit, a return to the Bible, and rejection of idolatrous icons. Some of these separatist groups were known as Khlytsy (Flagellants), Skoptsy (Eunuchs),

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9. John Noble and Glenn D. Everett, *I Found God in Soviet Russia* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1959), 118.

10. Ibid., 126.

11. Ibid., 141.

Dukhobors (Spiritual Warriors), Starovertsy (Old Believers), and of particular interest to this story, the Molokans, a sect which arose in the eighteenth century calling themselves "spiritual Christians" (*dukhovnie khristiane*). They were nicknamed "Molokan," most likely because they drank milk (the Russian word for milk is *moloko*) on their fast days, in contrast to the Orthodox who abstain from all dairy products during fasts. The Molokans readily accepted this nickname and added the spin that they were "drinkers of the spiritual milk of God."

The first Molokan village was founded in 1823 when a group of members was granted land by the tsar. This allowed at least some of them to live openly and separately from others although many thousands of Molokans continued to live in secrecy elsewhere in the Russian countryside. Due to a lack of centralization, Molokan beliefs changed considerably over time. Some of the basic tenets of their faith, however, remained more or less consistent and hold a few surprising parallels to the beliefs of the 19th century LDS church.

They believed that the true Christian church had lasted only until the 4th century A.D. after which the priesthood was corrupted. Molokans believed they were the only true "restored" Christian faith although they were tolerant of other religions. They turned away from "popes and bishops" but chose leaders in each community who conducted religious services, the reading of scriptures, the saying of prayers, and the shepherding of the believers. Each community chose one leader and two assistants. They did not recognize ordinances (such as baptism or sacrament) but believed in baptism by the Spirit. They believed in an "inexpensive church" and performed marriages and funerals for free in contrast to the Russian Orthodox Church, which collected tithes and contributions for religious rites. They formed strong communities with mutually supportive economic ties. They devoted themselves to studying the Bible and having direct experiences with the Spirit of God (as opposed to mediation through priests, icons, saints, etc.) and awaited the second coming of Christ. They did not believe in building temples and preached that the Old Testament should be taken figuratively in this regard.

In the 19th and 20th centuries, Molokans spread mainly through southern Russia, Central Asia, and Siberia. This migration pattern to frontier areas of the Russian Empire was typical of most non-Orthodox communities. They were usually squeezed off their land by a state both anxious to minimize their corrupting influence in the more favored Russian Orthodox communities and frustrated by their pacifist resistance to military conscription.[12]

12. Sources for this description of the Molokan faith are N. I. Kostomarov, *Raskol* (Moscow: Charm, 1994); I. A. Malakhova, *O sovremennyikh Molokanakh* [About contemporary Molokans] (Moscow: Znanie, 1968); and I. P. Morozov, *Molokane* (Moscow: OGIZ, 1931). See also a contemporary Molokan website: <http://staff.gc.maricopa.edu/~jstory/molokan/>.

Mormons in Bogdanovka

Throughout the 1990s missionaries serving in Samara in the middle-Volga region of Russia heard rumors of people's ancestors being Mormon or rumors of groups of Mormons living nearby. It wasn't until 1998, however, that the story started to unfold and that missionaries stumbled into very clear evidence that such rumors might be more than confusion or misunderstanding. The village of Bogdanovka was the key.

The woman who had described her family's "Book of Mormon" to President Gashler said that it had been passed down from her grandparents and was "incomplete." Her grandmother, she said, did not drink tea or alcohol, did not smoke, did not pray to icons, and believed strongly in honesty. Her grandmother had studied from this "Book of Mormon" and had even read to her from it when she was a child, but she couldn't remember any particular stories or teachings. The woman explained that her parents were now deceased, and it had been many years since she'd lived with them. She knew very little about their faith. She had been waiting all her life for someone to explain what her religious heritage meant.

Within a week elders Justin Cooper and Brent Van Every were settled in Bogdanovka. They discovered a distinct religious split down the middle of the village: one half was Russian Orthodox, and the other half was described by residents as mostly Mormon or Molokan.

At first nearly everyone Cooper and Van Every talked to said they knew Mormons, and many claimed that their parents or grandparents had been Mormon. They would report, for example, that their grandmothers read scriptures, loved Jesus, didn't drink or smoke, and did not own or pray to icons. It was reported that Mormons do not believe in baptism, but live according to the teachings of the New Testament. Many claimed that the Mormons and the Molokans were basically the same religion. No one seemed to know anything about the origins of either faith.

The elders had great success at first: in only a few days, they gave away over eighty Books of Mormon and committed twelve people to baptism. But their work soon turned sour in the face of systematic and adamant opposition from Russian Orthodox believers. Two elderly women confronted them loudly on the streets, accused them of doing the devil's work, and systematically visited each home where the elders had been. Families who had warmed to the missionaries and their message on the first visit would be strangely cold and distant in subsequent discussions or turn them away with no explanation. Rumors spread that the two young men were passing out poisoned candy and that they took pictures of children for perverted reasons. After just two weeks, a honking car swerved towards the elders as they walked along the side of a village road with the obvious intention of hitting or at least badly scaring them. President Gashler promptly withdrew them from Bogdanovka, and the village was closed to missionary work.

Before their abrupt departure, the elders tried to learn more about Russian Mormons, and villagers referred them to an 85-year-old man named Nikolai, describing him as "the oldest Mormon in the village." When they met with him, however, Nikolai seemed a little confused, claiming first that he was Mormon and then that he was Molokan.

The Old Molokan

When I visited Bogdanovka myself (about two months later in August 1998) I found Nikolai by asking villagers for "the old Molokan." He sat gripping a walking stick on a rough-hewn bench in front of his house, his face deeply lined. In our conversation Nikolai firmly identified himself as Molokan, but he said that in his late teens he had been close friends with a Mormon. Around 1930 he attended about five Mormon church meetings in spite of the fact that they were usually closed to outsiders.

Nikolai told me that these meetings were always secret, and only the Mormons would know where they were being held. They would begin by sitting in a circle on backless benches, and the main leader would conduct the meeting. They would sing a hymn and say a prayer. They prayed in their own words, no recitations. Then the leader taught a lesson followed by another hymn and prayer. At the end they would all stand and walk around in a circle, singing. He has no memory of a sacrament ordinance or of a Book of Mormon. He repeated several times that they taught "God the Father, Jesus Christ, and the Holy Ghost." After the meeting, they would leave in pairs over a long period of time to avoid drawing attention to the site. They often kept icons in their homes to appear to be Orthodox and avoid persecution. He described them as having strong morals and being good, clean, honest, modest people.

Nikolai said that in the 1930s the Mormons began to scatter, and he implied that this was to escape persecution. Other people in the village told Elder Cooper that after the 1917 revolution, rumors abounded that Mormons were being killed or exiled to Siberia. This initiated a period of intense secrecy and disguise. Nikolai told me that there were no Mormons left in Bogdanovka, only a handful of seven or eight elderly Molokans who still meet together on Sundays to worship. He was aware that the younger generations had no interest in preserving the faith of their grandparents and that the Molokan religion was dying out.

What Do You Know About The Mormons? Can You Tell Us Any More?

Newly sensitized by the reports coming out of Bogdanovka, missionaries began to pay more attention to "Mormon" rumors right in Samara. In June of 1998, James Scott and John Nielsen encountered a woman in their area of the city who claimed that there were many Mormons living in her sister's neighborhood. They took the story seriously and went to visit this

woman's sister, Ksenya. Ksenya lives in a cozy enclave of small houses in a region of the city called "Mekhzavod," after the large local fur factory. Although it is within city limits, the area looks much like a small Russian village: rows of cottages surrounded by vegetable gardens, separated by dirt roads, and bordered on one end by the dauntingly high-walled homes of the new rich.

Ksenya was receptive to talking about the Mormons and invited the two elders into her home. She explained that she herself was not Mormon, but she had lived among them since birth, and her mother-in-law had been Mormon. Ksenya described the Mormons to Elder Scott in a confusing mix of the familiar and the strange. She said that the Mormons are very supportive of each other and always help the poor. For instance, they were helping each other build a house down the street, and whenever someone does not have money or food, they always provide for each other. Whenever possible, they buy houses and land so as to live closer to one another. In this way, much of the neighborhood is made up of Mormons. They do not drink alcohol or smoke, nor do they have icons. Family life is very important to them, and most have two children (in a country where one child is the norm).

According to Ksenya, Mormons use the sign of the cross, but with one variation: their cross has a small peaked roof on the top. They bury their dead in the same cemetery, which is located some miles down the road in the forest. They wear white at funerals. When they eat together, they always bring their own dishes and always eat all of the food on the table. When a Mormon marries someone of another faith, that spouse must join the Mormon faith. Many people join their religion in this way, the majority of which are converted from the Molokans. Lastly, Ksenya said that the Mormons do not speak with others about their faith. Thus, what they believe or how they practice their beliefs is poorly understood, even by their neighbors.

As the elders walked through the neighborhood looking for Ksenya's house, Russians on the street recognized them as religious figures and suggested that they talk to Yurii, a very religious man in the community. When the elders located him, they learned that Yurii had invited other foreign missionaries to his home before and evidently led a small religious group of his own. He also claimed to know about the Mormons and shared the following information.

Yurii said that he knew of about 200 to 300 Mormons, all living in the general area of Samara. He said that they meet on Fridays to pray, only twelve or thirteen people at a time, and in different locations. Although he wasn't sure, he believed they have prophecies or preaching at their meetings and sing long monotone hymns (similar to the Molokans, but unlike the Russian Orthodox church, where singing is restricted to trained choirs). He had not heard of or seen a Mormon baptism.

Yurii claimed to have seen a large, red book with the title "Book of Mor-

mon" written in Russian on the cover. He was not allowed to open it. When the LDS elders introduced their Book of Mormon to him and gave him a copy, he said that the other book was much larger, very old, and greatly revered. These Mormons read the Bible, but not as seriously as the Book of Mormon: Yurii gave them many copies of the New Testament once, but they said they didn't really need them. They look to a man in the community called the *starshii* (Elder), although Yurii could not describe his role. The last Elder died recently, and there is only one Elder at a time. Yurii thought that they are an old group, possibly dating back to Catherine the Great (who died nine years before Joseph Smith was born) that migrated to the Samara region from somewhere else. They were persecuted before and after the Communist Revolution. He said this might explain their secrecy about their religion.

Elder Scott wasn't sure what to make of this confusing account and neither was I. Scott noted, however, that Yurii had only lived in this neighborhood for thirteen years and that he appeared to be elaborating generously on very little actual knowledge of the subject. Ksenya seemed to be a more reliable source of information. What we really needed was a clear, firsthand account from an insider willing to talk.

From Ksenya, the elders obtained the names and addresses of two men in the area reputed to be Mormon "elders." But their visits to these homes proved frustrating. The men and their wives adamantly denied being Mormon and sidestepped questions about their religious beliefs.

"Your American Cousins"

I visited one of these homes and spoke at length with Shura, the wife of one of the "elders." She said that her husband was away that day tending their beehives. She was anxious to be kind and hospitable but was clearly uncomfortable talking about Mormonism and denied any affiliation with or knowledge of such a religion. She claimed to believe in God and Christ and to attend church, but she never named a religious denomination. There were no visible icons anywhere in her home.

My experience followed a pattern encountered by missionaries in several areas of Samara: neighbors would identify certain homes as belonging to "Mormon" families, but it was difficult to find these Mormons at home. Without exception, they would deny being Mormon and avoid lengthy questioning.

President Gashler himself made a visit to this neighborhood and found a group of men working on the construction of a large building at the end of one of the streets, just as Ksenya had reported. He approached them boldly with his assistant as translator, introducing himself as their "cousin from America." He told them that he knew they were Mormon, that he was Mormon too, and that he wanted to talk to them about religion. The men

shook their heads and denied such an identity. President Gashler continued in good humor: "No, no, we know that you are Mormon." He told them he would like to come to one of their religious services and speak to their group. This proposal was met with silence. Eventually, the men took a break and invited President Gashler to join them for some cold soda, but the hospitality did not lead to any further disclosures.

Elders Scott and Nielsen also followed up with a visit to the cemetery that Ksenya had described. There they found a large section with graves marked by the roofed cross she'd mentioned. Scott estimates there to be about 60-100 such graves with the most recent burial date of 1997 and the oldest of 1955. Most burial dates were in the 1970s or later. I confirmed this finding with a visit of my own to this cemetery. The last names of some of the families identified as Mormon in the Mekhzavod area appeared frequently among the grave-markers. We wondered if this distinctive cross, easily spotted in cemeteries, might be a way to locate the presence of other Mormon communities in Russia.

Another Mormon community in Samara was discovered towards the end of June 1998. This part of the city, unpoetically called "9th Micro-region," is closer to the city center than Mekhzavod, but similar in appearance. It is a large expanse of acreage surrounded by high-rise apartment buildings visible in the distance but with a village feel to it. Like Mekhzavod, it has small cottages with outhouses, bathhouses, and vegetable gardens as well as some surrounding larger fields partitioned by dirt roads. Two elders tracting the area encountered reports of Mormons living in the neighborhood. About the same time, Sisters Heather Frushour and Alida Purves had a conversation with an inactive LDS member, Zoia, who recalled knowing Mormons in the Samaran area long before LDS missionaries first arrived in 1992.

Zoia's Story

Zoia moved to Samara in 1982 at the age of 39. She lived in the city center but spent a great deal of time at her sister's home in the 9th Micro-region. It was there that she became acquainted with a man named Peter Makarov. Peter was a Mormon, as his parents and grandparents had been before him. Zoia recounted that the Mormons of the neighborhood would all gather on Sundays at the Makarov home for a worship service which included singing hymns. She knew that they did not drink alcohol, tea, or coffee, and did not smoke. She also reported that these Russian Mormons did not practice polygamy, unlike the American Mormons. Peter eventually asked Zoia to marry him but she refused. Assuming that she had concerns about his faith, he reassured her that their lives would be normal; they simply wouldn't drink vodka. But she turned him down for reasons unrelated to religion and gradually lost contact with him.

Shortly after this conversation with Zoia, a native Russian LDS missionary, Elder Dmitri Slinkov, befriended Peter Makarov and asked him about his religion. Peter said he was Mormon because his parents, who came from the neighboring province of Orenburg, were Mormon and had baptized him as a young man. He said that no books or texts had survived as far as he knew. Their meetings were closed to outsiders for fear of persecution, and they consisted of ritually greeting each other, sitting in a semicircle, having lessons, and singing hymns. Peter estimated there to be about 200 Mormons in the Samaran area. He said that he himself had become disaffected from his faith after their leader attempted to initiate a form of polygamy. The leader reportedly informed women in his community that they needed to sleep with him to ensure their salvation.

In July, Sisters Frushour and Purves visited with an elderly woman about 70 years old, calling herself Babushka ("Grandma") Shura. This woman told them that her first husband and his family had been Mormon and had lived in the 9th Micro-region. She learned very little about this faith from her husband because he was not very active. One day, however, Shura had had a long talk about religion with her more devout father-in-law. He explained that they did not drink and did not pray to icons. She said she felt the Holy Spirit so strongly that from that day on she never entered an Orthodox church nor prayed in front of icons. Babushka Shura reported that the Mormons met every Sunday to sing and pray and listen to one person read from a book although she did not know which book. During their meetings they would keep guards at each end of the street to warn of possible intrusions. She also mentioned that these Mormons had communications with other Mormons in Moscow.

Could it be that all along there had been Russian Mormons right in the center of LDS missionary activity, lost or deliberately hidden among the millions of Muscovites? The twisted trail of the *mormoni*, first discovered in Bogdanovka, was leading in ever more directions.

The Orenburg "Mafia"

Based on conversations with Ksenya, Shura, and Peter Makarov, it seems that most Samaran Mormons trace their immediate origins to the triangular province of Orenburg, which stretches east from Samara and south to the Kazakhstan border. This information confirms a curious report made in 1992 to Moscow Mission President Gary Browning. A member of the LDS church, Viacheslav Postnov, came to President Browning saying that he knew of thousands of "Mormons" living in the city of Orenburg. President Browning, a professor of Russian literature and culture at BYU with extensive experience in Russia, supported a fact-finding trip by Postnov to Orenburg, but only a few "Mormons" would speak with him. They did so reluctantly, claimed to have acquired their name as followers of a Russian

Orthodox monk named Mormon, and professed to know nothing of Joseph Smith or the Book of Mormon.[13]

Six years later (October 1998) Orenburg opened to missionary work, and within a few months LDS elders began hearing consistent stories of a community of Mormons living on the east side of the city. Almost everyone in the city knew of them. Some referred to them as a "mafia" group,[14] and some described them as a religious group. As with the Samaran Mormons, they were often described by their lifestyle of abstention from drinking, smoking, and swearing. They were also reported to own a string of gas stations and to have a meetinghouse, built entirely of wood, in a small town outside Orenburg.

A visit in spring 1999 by LDS missionaries to what they were told was the Mormon neighborhood revealed a row of houses behind tall fences and locked gates. These "cottages" (*kotezhi*—as they have been dubbed in post-Soviet terminology) were built in the style of old Communist Party elites and boasted expensive German cars in the driveways. The elders, however, were unable to find any Mormons to speak with them and were actually yelled at and threatened by one of the men they approached.

In late June Dmitri Slinkov, the same native Russian elder to encounter *mormoni* in Samara, arranged through an LDS convert to speak with the Mormon leader in Orenburg, Ivan Ivanovich Zhabin, by telephone. In the course of a brief conversation Slinkov was told that Mormons do practice baptism by immersion and use the cross with the peaked roof.

Ivan Ivanovich knew nothing of the origins of any Book of Mormon but offered an interpretation of his religion's name: "Mormon" signifies "God and man" because, he explained, "mor" means God and "mon" means man—although Ivan Ivanovich did not say in which language he found these equivalencies. In any case, it is unlikely to be Russian as a quick look in the bible of Slavic etymology (Vassmer's four-volume dictionary) shows no entry for 'mormony,' or anything remotely similar.[15] Slinkov was also told that although many people in Orenburg identify as Mormons, not all of them fully practice their religion. Those who do tend to

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13. Browning, 344-345 [Chapter 2, footnote 16].

14. The word "mafia" is a ubiquitous term among Russians that carries a much broader meaning than it has in English. The mafia might refer to any group of people collaborating for mutual economic gain, but almost always implies some sort of illegal activity, from tax evasion (a Russian national pastime) to extortionist protection rackets.

15. The closest entries are "mordofilia" (a conceited person), "mordovat" (to suffer torment), "morkii" (easily dirtied), "morkov" (a carrot), "mormotat" (to mutter or murmur), "morok" (fog, darkness), "morokovat" (to do something slowly and hesitantly), "morosit" (to drizzle) and, not to be forgotten, "morzh" (walrus). There is an all-purpose Slavic root "mor," which can stand alone in Russian as "an epidemic die-off," and also occurs in other words, including a number of English ones deriving from the same Indo-European root (murder,

live more modestly than other, more "cultural" Mormons. Either way, the Mormons are so well known in the city of Orenburg that LDS missionaries have incorporated a clarifying disclaimer into each introduction: "we're Mormons, but not *those* Mormons."

Growing Rumors

More rumors and reports of Russian Mormons continue to surface. A reporter from Kazakhstan, Arkadi Shubin, asserted to President Browning in 1992 that his grandmother had told him of seeing "several hand-written copies of a 'Book of Mormon' among Mormons living in Samara."[16] An elderly member of the LDS church living in Volgograd claims her mother had a printed copy of a Book of Mormon before it was confiscated by the KGB in the 1930s.[17]

An LDS member told a sister missionary that she owns land in a village outside Samara named Kinelskii where a small community of Mormons lives. She described them as being very different from the LDS Mormons with distinct religious ceremonies. They live close together in one part of the village and eat together at one big table. They meet every Sunday and are a very close-knit group. She said that there are about five Mormon families left in the village and at least one 97-year-old Mormon woman. The member was reluctant to divulge more specific answers once pressed for more information and emphasized repeatedly that these Mormons were very different from "our" Mormons.

Another LDS member, Nadezhda Galiaeva, who now lives in northern Siberia (Surgut), related to me in a telephone conversation that her great-uncle's wife was a Mormon who led prayer meetings for friends and family in the Ural region during World War II.

In a particularly striking report, an elderly LDS member in Krasnodar, Lyubov Sergeevna Korol, remembers her father holding secret worship meetings for Mormons in their home in Omsk. She said that her

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morbid, and Tolkien's Mordor). In English, "mor" by itself means "forest compost." This eclectic list shows the perils of seeking (or forcing) an etymological meaning onto the word which, unlike the name "molokan," seems to have no native Russian explanation. It should be noted, however, that Joseph Smith once set forth his own etymology for the word "mormon." In an 1843 letter to the editor of *Times and Seasons*, he reminded readers that the Book of Mormon had been translated from "Reformed Egyptian" and then proceeded to expound on the roots of the word "good:" "We say from the Saxons, 'good'; the Dane, 'god'; the Goth, 'goda'; the German, 'gut'; the Dutch, 'goed'; the Latin, 'bonus'; the Greek, 'kalos'; the Hebrew, 'tob'; and the Egyptian, 'mon.' Hence with the addition of 'more,' or the contraction, 'mor,' we have the word 'mormon'; which means literally 'more good'" (Joseph Fielding Smith, ed., *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1976], 300).

16. Browning, 344.

17. Reported by President Don Jarvis of the Yekaterinburg Mission.

parents had been baptized as Mormons in 1910 and believes her maternal grandparents were baptized even earlier.[18] This is unusual as one of the few reports to suggest the existence of Mormon communities very early in the century in places as far away as Omsk, a city deep in Siberian territory.

The Written Record

Given this range of oral reports, where were the written references to Mormons? My own exhaustive search through the holdings of the Samara Regional Library and the Saratov State University Library for mention of Mormons finally yielded a single brief citation. In a book on Protestant sects in Siberia, the author states that in 1930, 150 Mormons arrived in the region of Omsk.[19] This date corresponds with a growing intensity of persecution against religious believers under Stalin.

The most detailed written reference I have encountered to *mormoni* in Russia by a Russian was brought to my attention by Don Jarvis, mission president of the Russia Yekaterinburg Mission. It is found in a 1912 handbook for Orthodox church workers republished in Moscow in 1994.[20] In his long and detailed section on sects and heresies, the author lists (and condemns) such non-Russian religious movements as the Baptists and Methodists, as well as Russian sects, including the Molokans. "Mormons" are given two consecutive entries. The first describes the church founded by Joseph Smith and transplanted to Utah. The author credits the church with borrowing such tenets as Buddhist reincarnation, a pagan belief in witchcraft, and a Jewish belief in theocracy. The basis of Mormon doctrine is the value of work and, consequently, "the highest goal of the religion," according to the author, "is the pursuit of worldly materialism." Aside from passages which strike us as quite unfamiliar, a good deal of the author's description echoes wording in the Articles of Faith.

The author concludes, "Notwithstanding their material prosperity and appearance of higher culture, the life of the sect is founded on despotism and polygamy and is, therefore, not fundamentally different than barbarism. At present, the Mormon sect is in a state of decline." Clearly, the au-

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18. From a telephone conversation with Amy Rolly who interviewed Lyubov Korol while serving in the Russia Rostov mission. See also Paul Rolly, "Russian Saints," *Salt Lake Tribune* (December 19, 1998), B1.

19. N. A. Kostenko, *Protestantskie sekty v Sibiri* [Protestant Sects in Siberia] (Novosibirsk, 1967), 4.

20. S. V. Bulgakov, *Pravoslavnie prasniki i posti; Bogosluzhenie treby; Raskoly, yeresi, sekty protivnyie Khistianstvu i Pravoslaviyu ucheniya* [Orthodox Holidays and Fasts; Requirements for Worship Services; Schisms, heresies, sects that go against Christian and Orthodox teachings] (Moscow: Sovermennik, 1994 [1912]), 361-363.

thor's sources mixed fairly accurate factual information about basic LDS church history with more unreliable reports of its doctrines.

The author's second entry is "Mormoni samarskie" (Samaran Mormons). This, he reports, is a sect which arose in the 1840s in the province of Samara as a "strange mixture" of various other sects. They share many characteristics with the Molokans and engage in "whirling," sometimes half-undressed, and "rapture" during which the Holy Spirit descends on them and they sing. The author contrasts them with the "Methodists," writing that the two groups differ most in their views of marriage and in their way of life: *mormoni*, "having rejected marriage, have introduced among themselves polygamy, but they lead an abstemious, sober life. The Methodists are notorious drunkards and libertines." The *mormoni* can also be found in the provinces of Omsk, Astrakhan, and in the northern Caucasus. Furthermore, the Caucasus *mormoni* deny the resurrection, believe in reincarnation, and preach that every person, upon reaching perfection, can become a god. Converts to the *mormoni* swear an oath of silence.

As for the name of the Russian Mormons, the author gives a thoroughly confusing explanation: "they are called 'Mormons' only because, like the American Molokans [sic] they allow polygamy." This description provides powerful evidence that a native Russian religious group called *mormoni* has existed in the Samaran region for at least a century and predates any possible contact with the American-based church. If they indeed formed in the 1840s, this would have been far too early for any contact with LDS missionaries; information about LDS Mormonism was not widely available in Russian publications until the late 1850s. Unfortunately, given the author's transparent purpose to discredit any non-Russian Orthodox religious movements, it is difficult to evaluate his mix of seemingly accurate fact, outright error, unsubstantiated speculation, and potentially deliberate slander.

It would seem from these oral and written reports that Russian Mormons were scattered quite broadly and lived as communities, not isolated family groups, although they did not attract the notice of Soviet researchers in the way that Molokans and other more prominent religious sects did. Perhaps this was the result of their small numbers, their intense secrecy, or both. Their efforts to stay undiscovered were evidently successful as they scarcely register anywhere on the documented Russian religious map of tsarist, Soviet, or post-Soviet times.

Who are These Mormons?

With such scant and contradictory information from sources of variable reliability, it is very difficult to draw any conclusions. We are left with few facts and many questions.

Prior to 1989, the church has record of only five baptisms on what was

then Russian soil; none of these were ethnic Russians. A link between these LDS Mormons in cosmopolitan cities on the far western edge of the Russian empire and Russian *Mormoni* communities of hundreds deep in the Russian countryside barely a generation later would be implausible.

Who were the Mormons that John Noble encountered in the Vorkuta prison camp? Were they of LDS origin as he presumed them to be? Or did he inaccurately assume the connection to the American-based church when he heard the word "Mormon"? We know of at least two young LDS Germans who spent time in Soviet labor camps as POWs after WWII although they were never in Vorkuta—could Noble have encountered others like them?[21] Noble's account, however, implied Russian nationality for at least some of these Mormons since he described the persecution their religion faced in Russia, yet their identity remains a mystery. Could they have been descendants of the Lindelofs who were baptized fifty years earlier in St. Petersburg? Or were they Russian *mormoni*?

What are we to make of murky rumors of polygamy among Russian Mormons? The Orthodox reference book cited earlier suggests that polygamy was the reason they were branded with the name of the scorned nineteenth-century American religion, and Peter Makarov reported a contested form of polygamy in recent years among at least one Samara Mormon community. Yet other informants like Ksenya, who grew up among Mormons, are careful to point out that the Russian *mormoni* do *not* practice polygamy unlike their American counterparts.

Perhaps some of the contradictions about Russian "Mormons" can be attributed to confusing them with other religious groups. For example, Ksenya reported that Mormons bring their own dishes to public meals. I found a reference to this practice among the Dukhobors, another reformist religious movement that came out of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. And residents in the village of Bogdanovka certainly conflate Mormons with Molokans. Or perhaps the seeming confusion is based more on fact: these non-Orthodox religious groups, often pushed into exile together, may have gradually adopted some of each other's teachings and practices through intermarriage or other social mixing.

If we are to believe the author of the 1912 Orthodox reference, these Russian Mormons have no relation to the American church and its mis-

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21. The two LDS Germans who survived their years in Russia had been arrested for helping another LDS youth, Helmuth Hübener, distribute anti-Nazi propaganda during the war. Hübener was beheaded for treason. His friends Karl-Heinz Schnibbe and Rudolf Wobbe were sentenced to work camps in Germany and Poland then captured by the Russians. They each published their memoirs. See respectively: Blair R. Holmes and Alan F. Keele, *When Truth Was Treason: German Youth Against Hitler* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995) and Rudi Wobbe and Jerry Borrowman, *Before the Blood Tribunal* (Salt Lake City: Covenant Communications, 1992).

sionaries. Perhaps they comprise just one of the dozens of reformist religious movements to grow up in Russia as an alternative to Orthodoxy, and they adopted the Mormon name by strange coincidence or by similarity to what was known of American Mormonism. Russians certainly had access to information about Mormons through many articles, usually sensationalistic and condemnatory, published from the 1860s on. Tolstoi took an interest in Mormonism for a time as a potentially utopian success story and even corresponded briefly with Susa Young Gates, daughter of Brigham Young. An English copy of the Book of Mormon sits on the bookshelf in his house-museum. But ultimately Tolstoi spent far more of his efforts publicizing the plight of the persecuted Dukhobors than pursuing American Mormonism. It would be helpful if we could ascertain when the term "Mormon" was first used to identify this group, but this remains a mystery for now.

It is the multiple rumors of a "Book of Mormon" which particularly complicate the story. Where did these books come from when the official Russian translation for the LDS church was not completed until 1980? LDS Books of Mormon in other languages could certainly have found their way into Russia, especially in the years preceding the 1917 revolution. But would we recognize the Samaran books that have been described as "our" Book of Mormon or are they another text altogether? Beginning in the 16th century, the tsar and the Russian Orthodox patriarch maintained a monopoly on printing scripture and religious books. Russian religious groups that rejected these printed books began a rich and secretive tradition of underground hand-copied scripture and religious writings that survives to this day. Could these "Books of Mormon" actually be biblical or other sacred texts that were dubbed with the name of those who studied them? And why do some Russian Mormons or their descendants refer to such a book, while others claim to have studied only the Bible or to have no texts at all?

In order to learn more about the origins of these Russian Mormons, we would need to find: (1) practicing Mormons more willing to talk openly about their faith, (2) Mormons who have retained records or memories of their ancestors and the origins of their religion, or (3) an actual physical copy of a pre-1980 Russian "Book of Mormon."

Unfortunately, the distinctive roofed cross, which might have acted as physical evidence for the presence of *mormoni,* turned into a dead-end lead. Scholars of Russian culture and practicing members of Russian Orthodoxy point out that this cross is a common variant in the Orthodox church. It is called a "chapel cross" (*chasovnii krest*) or a "kiot," and the roof has two possible functions. One is to symbolize a chapel when believers wish to revere a site (perhaps a shrine or to mark the place of a violent death) but do not have the means to build a full structure. The other purpose is to act as an umbrella. The little wooden roof functions as a shield for the icons and

images of the deceased commonly affixed to the body of the cross when used as a grave marker.[22]

If we are to believe reports on the geography of the Mormons, we may expect to encounter more of them or their descendants in the countryside between Samara and Orenburg and in Siberia (particularly in the Omsk and Altai regions where LDS missionary work is recently underway) as well as in the Caucasus Mountains region. We might also look for evidence among other non-Orthodox religious groups (for example, among the Molokans, Dukhobors, Khlysti, Skoptsi) who seem to have shared similar migration patterns and possibly similar doctrines with Mormons and who would have faced equivalent pressures from the Soviet state. Unfortunately, it seems likely that Russian Mormons, like their cousins the Molokans, are dying out with the older generation.

"Simply Unthinkable"

The most exciting breakthrough for my research came in late July 1998 when I visited Samara's 9th Micro-region myself with Sister Heather Frushour as a companion. As in Mekhzavod, neighbors (especially the neighborhood children playing in the streets) would identify certain homes as belonging to Mormons, but those few who were home would never admit to being or knowing anything about Mormons. In one case, a woman Sister Frushour believed to be Mormon was sitting in front of her home, but she got up and went inside when she saw us approaching. We chose not to pursue her. We finally made our way down one dirt road, stopping to chat with anyone out enjoying the warm summer evening. Soon we approached a group of two elderly women and a younger woman sitting on log benches in front of a gate under an apple tree.

I introduced myself as a sociologist interested in learning about the history of the Russian Mormons in this area and asked if they knew anything about the Mormons or could they refer us to anyone who might be able to tell us about them. The immediate response was firm: "No—there are no Mormons around here. We don't know any, and we don't know anything about them." Undaunted, we continued chatting. They began asking questions about our religion, and soon we were settled in on the benches for a gradually warmer and friendlier conversation. They explained that they themselves were Russian Orthodox, and we continued to discuss religion and America. Before long, the younger woman stood up,

22. From a telephone conversation on August 15, 1999, with George Pahomov, professor of Russian at Bryn Mawr College. A simple "chapel cross" adorns the grave of Russian writer Anton Chekhov, for example, since his widow resisted plans to build him a monument.

told us she would be right back, then disappeared into the house across the road.

She re-emerged with her mother-in-law, a woman in her 60s, who introduced herself as Babushka Nadia. She was a large woman with strong arms, a kindly face, and knowing eyes. Her gray hair was pulled back into a bun, and she wore a comfortable, colorless housedress. She looked us over and cheerfully pronounced: "Well, you don't seem nearly as scary as they made you out to be!" I could only guess who the "they" and the "you" referred to in her statement, but it was clear she had been introduced into our conversation for a reason. We took the cue, and I asked her if she could tell us anything about Russian Mormons. She answered, "You see, we don't know very much about our ancestors. No one kept records." I had finally found a practicing Mormon who seemed willing to talk.

We asked about what she believed, and she spoke about Christ and the importance of prayer and listening to the Spirit. The arrival of a drunken neighbor allowed her to share her disgust for drinking alcohol. When we pushed for information about other doctrines, she kept coming back to the importance of prayer and the fundamental teachings from the Gospels. We asked about church meetings, a question that Nadia avoided until Sister Frushour asked point blank if she could attend their next prayer meeting. "No—it is not allowed" came the firm reply. As it grew late and we had to head home, Sister Frushour drew Nadia aside and again asked privately if she could attend a prayer meeting with her. Again the answer was unequivocally negative.

Meanwhile, I remained seated with the Orthodox women on the bench who had begun by so staunchly defending the privacy of their neighbors. Now they leaned in conspiratorially toward me. One woman said, "yes, they hold meetings in different houses—sometimes there, sometimes in that house down the road." The other told me, "my mother-in-law was Mormon, and I was invited to the funeral, and they have a rule that no noise should be made at the funeral meal—we were even provided with wooden spoons to prevent any clinking sounds against the dishes."

The next evening I returned alone to visit Nadia and her family. I found Nadia kneading sweet dough with her great forearms to make *pirozhki* (deep-fried pastries), her kitchen buzzing with family members and neighbors dropping by to chat. At her suggestion I began by having tea with her son and daughter-in-law, who lived in the rear of the house with their two children. Nadia's son said he had grown up with almost no information about his mother's faith and does not consider himself to be religious. Although his mother was devout, he said that she never made an attempt to draw her children into her beliefs and practices. This may well have been a deliberate decision not to risk exposure to authorities through their children, however unwittingly. It could also be related to es-

pecially stern laws against transmitting religion to children. As one historian reported: during the 1960s "there were many cases in which parents who were found guilty of teaching religion to their children were denied parental rights, and the children were forcibly removed to atheistic boarding schools."[23]

When we were finally alone at her kitchen table, Nadia told me about her life. She was born in 1931 in the Orenburg region and lived in a small village of about 120 residents, 30-40 of whom were Mormon. Frustrated by state limitations on private land and livestock holdings, she and her husband followed her brother to Samara in search of more lucrative work when she was 25 years old. She says she doesn't know the origin of her faith—its name or traditions. It was simply how she was raised. Her father left the family when she was two years old, and her mother said very little about religion. It was her aunt, who moved in with her family when her father left, who was strict about keeping the Mormon faith. To Nadia, being a Mormon basically means no drinking, no smoking, no swearing, and "no marrying five times over." This last comment seemed less a reference to polygamy than to the undesirability of divorce and the importance of family life. She said they did not have any ordinances like our baptism by immersion, but sidestepped further questions about the subject.

I asked about the "Mormon cross." She laughed and said it was just another style of cross called a "chapel cross" and was perfectly common with no special meaning to Mormons. Later, I saw a photograph of her mother's grave in the same forest cemetery we had visited near Mekhzavod, marked with a "chapel cross." Her older son lives in Mekhzavod, and I learned that Nadia knows Shura, the wife of the "elder" with whom I had spoken in Mekhzavod and who had refused to acknowledge any connection with Mormons. Both families keep bees, and Nadia and Shura sell their honey together at the market.

Babushka Nadia made it clear that she was not interested in reading the Book of Mormon offered to her by Sister Frushour or in learning more about "American Mormons." Whether or not the two religions had the same origins, she believed her religion to be very different from ours. She was happy with it and had no desire to change her life at the ripe age of 67.

Based on the Mormons' systematic avoidance of LDS missionaries and on Nadia's comments, it would seem that Russian *mormoni* have little interest in embracing their possible namesakes from America. Rather than open curiosity about the possible connections between faiths, Russian Mormons seem inclined to respond with the same survival instincts that no doubt preserved them during the Soviet era: they close ranks and avoid disclos-

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23. William C. Fletcher, *Soviet Believers: The Religious Sector of the Population* (Lawrence, KS: Regents Press of Kansas, 1981), 3.

ing information. As with many Russians, especially those in rural areas, the driving forces in their lives are tradition and community rather than any independent search for new light, truth, or knowledge from outside sources. Identifying themselves as Mormon seems to have more to do with "the way things are" than with any connection to the origins or meaning of the name. Nadia pointed out that in her youth, to have any kind of tie to America was considered treasonous and was very dangerous. Now having ties to America represents danger of another kind: it evokes associations with wealth and privilege—not the most popular of traits in rural Russia where wealth and privilege remain linked in people's minds to corruption and selfishness. In communities where everyone knows everyone else's business, to step out of the traditional role prescribed for you and link yourself to Americans is to invite jealousy, resentment, gossip, and—in this disturbed day and age (as Nadia put it)—violence .

Nadia's comments seem borne out by the LDS missionaries' frustrated efforts in the village of Bogdanovka. Russians in these smaller, more tight-knit communities who do show interest in "American" Mormonism will likely face enormous pressure from their neighbors to conform to more "native" traditions.

As the hour grew late and I felt I had a more personal connection with Nadia, I asked if I could come to a Mormon meeting. Her reaction was immediate and vehemently negative. Such a thing was "simply unthinkable," she said. She explained that even if they invited a trusted, non-Mormon neighbor to their meetings, he or she could easily get drunk the next day and tell who knows what to others. Visitors might misrepresent them, laugh at them behind their backs, or cause trouble for them. "Do *you* have open meetings?" she asked. When I replied affirmatively, she shook her head in mild disgust and incomprehension. Then I made a sudden connection to LDS temples. I explained that we also had a separate form of worship closed to all but committed insiders and that we did not talk about these ceremonies with non-participants. She seemed to grasp this immediately. Leaning toward me intently with a finger pressed emphatically into the table, she declared "Yes—now you understand." It would seem that *mormoni* meetings have the same private "sacredness" to them as our temple worship does to us.

The Great Divide

One puzzle left after so many unsuccessful attempts to make contact was the indifference on the part of the Russian Mormons we met toward the LDS church, their foreign name-sharers. A possible explanation for such a lack of curiosity presented itself when I learned the story of a returned missionary from Samara, Dan Jones.

In May 1993, less than a year after Samara was opened to missionary

work, two Russian *mormoni* bumped into LDS elders on the street and seemed excited to learn of American Mormons. They invited the elders to their home in Mekhzavod. There Dan Jones and his companion met with a small group of adults in their thirties and forties and one elderly woman. From their introductions, Elder Jones understood that they were all related to one another and that they represented only a small part of a larger group of Mormons. Many of the others had been strongly opposed to meeting with the LDS missionaries at all. He also learned that they kept their religious beliefs from their children and did not include them in religious worship until they became adults.

The Russian Mormons wanted to know what the elders believed and became especially intrigued with the temple. In fact, it soon became clear that they were far more interested in learning what went on inside the temple than they were in hearing the first discussion. The elders felt uncomfortable discussing such matters in much detail. They tried in turn to learn something about their hosts, but when they questioned the Mormons about their weekly meetings, the elders met a comparable wall of silence. There they sat at an impasse, each side hungry to know if there were deeper commonalities between them in the worship they held sacred, but unwilling to divulge their own secrets. One or two of these Mormons came to a few Sacrament services after this visit, but never pursued the LDS church any further. By the time LDS missionaries "rediscovered" them in 1998, the *mormoni* had already come to their own conclusions about American-based Mormonism. Apparently they are reluctant to pursue any further ties.

It is, however, likely that more information will unfold in the coming years as LDS missionaries gradually expand into more remote areas and encounter more of these *mormoni* communities. BYU professors Gary Browning and Eric Eliason have continued to explore the origins and practices of this native "Mormon" religion and culture in Russia; interested readers should look to their forthcoming findings based on research conducted in the summer of 2000.

Mormonism and the Radical Religious Movement in Early Colonial New England

Val D. Rust

Introduction

Mormons believe that forerunners prepared the way for the restoration of the Church of Jesus Christ in the latter days. This paper examines a special set of those forerunners, namely, the progenitors of the early converts to the LDS church, whose religious experiences took them through a refiner's fire so significant and revolutionary that it helped provide their descendants with the disposition to embrace a new, radical faith.

Religious scholars often ask why a person converts from one religion to another. In Mormon circles, several theories are proffered to explain why people join the LDS church. Most theories assume that a person must be "touched by the Spirit" and that "my sheep hear my voice," but they also include social factors. A popular missionary theory is that converts come more often from personal referrals than from cold calls. Mormon researchers have attempted to demonstrate the validity of this theory by claiming it takes about 1,000 contacts through door-to-door tracting to find one convert, while a personal referral of a friend or relative results in conversion about half the time.[1] Certain scholars have turned this commonsense insight into a formal theory of conversion. Rodney Stark, for example, claims converts to a religion such as the LDS church come mainly through a "huge, interlocking, kinship network" consisting of extended families, friendship circles, and neighborhoods.[2]

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1. Rodney Stark and W. S. Bainbridge, "Networks of Faith: Interpersonal Bonds and Recruitment to Cults and Sects," *American Journal of Sociology* 85 (May 1980): 1376-95.

2. Rodney Stark, "Extracting Social Scientific Models from Mormon History," *Journal of Mormon History* 25, no. 1 (1999): 174-94.

There is persuasive anecdotal evidence that Stark is correct with regard to the kinship ties among the first converts of the LDS church. Most of the first converts came via family lines, including spouses, brothers and sisters, cousins, in-laws, and uncles. Richard Bushman describes the conversions in the first months after the church was organized:

> Five Whitmer children and three of their spouses were baptized . . . besides the parents. Eleven Smiths, six Jollys, and five Rockwells joined. . . . The most remarkable collection of kin was the offspring and relatives of Joseph Knight, Sr., and his wife Polly Peck Knight. . . . Two of Polly Knight's brothers and a sister, their spouses, and a sister-in-law . . . were baptized. Five of the Knight children, four of them with spouses, joined, plus Joseph Knight's sister, Mary Knight Slade, and five of her children.[3]

As the church spread, other families joined the extensive webwork of relationships. Over a two-year period, no less than thirteen Young family members joined the church, and through the Youngs, the Heber C. Kimball family. These two families were distant cousins of Joseph Smith and were well aware of their relationship to each other.

However, it becomes increasingly difficult to explain the further expansion of the LDS church strictly through kinship and friendship associations. Although obvious clusters of people joined the church, more is required to explain why these clusters identified themselves as Mormon even when they were quite distant from each other and had no common kinship connections. Additional explanations are also necessary to account for an increasing number of outliers or isolates who came into the church.

Stark recognizes that factors other than kinship and friendship ties are often at work in the conversion process. He notes that converts usually respond to the message because it resonates with their life orientation and does not require them to reject their so-called "religious capital." Rather, conversion to a new faith is easier when that new faith "maximizes their conservation of religious capital."[4] Converts are drawn to religions which fit within their pre-conversion frame of reference.

The kinship theory of conversion is persuasive, and I would like to push it in a direction not yet taken by scholars. I argue in this paper that an individual who is attracted to a strange religious orientation likely has a family history that corresponds in a marked way with that religious orientation. In fact, this orientation can be traced across a number of generations. The religious orientation is not necessarily directly experiential, but may have become almost archetypal in nature. In other words, personal and

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3. Richard L. Bushman, *From Puritan to Yankee* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 151.

4. Stark, "Extracting Social Scientific Models," 184-85.

family histories have been so imprinted on people's lives that they feel a strange spiritual outlook in their soul. It becomes a part of a collective consciousness of a group of people that distinguishes them in a special way. I argue that spiritual orientation is often so strong it can be validated empirically over several generations.

People who joined the LDS church in its first years are prime examples of this theory. The LDS church message was so radical that it demanded a certain spiritual predisposition among its converts. I am proposing that the individuals who converted to the LDS church in the first years after it was established possessed a shared historical background and a radical spiritual orientation which had been cultivated and honed over a number of generations. These converts had been prepared by their ancestors over several generations to embrace their new faith and to help build the foundations of the Mormon church.

As an example, I turn briefly to the Protestant Reformation. We typically identify the Reformation with names such as Luther, Calvin, and Knox, but in 1962 George H. Williams drew attention to "radical" aspects of the Reformation.[5] Although this radical religious movement reflected social, economic, and political struggles, it was mainly a mystical-spiritualist attempt by fringe groups to overcome the worldly order which adherents felt had infected Christianity. Radical reformers anticipated the return of Jesus Christ and wished to prepare for God's kingdom on earth.

Members of these fringe groups were met by imprisonment, scourging, mutilation, and even hanging, but they persisted in their convictions. They professed a wide variety of beliefs and identified themselves as Familists (Family of Love), Ranters, Seekers, Anabaptists, Quakers, Muggletonians, and Antinomians, among other groups; however, they shared certain qualities. Winsor notes: "There was in all of them a strong and ardent element of enthusiasm and fanaticism, and in most of them a claim to a special divine illumination and guidance in the form of 'private revelations.'"[6]

The less radical were committed to being a "covenant people" and to building a church/state theocracy, while the more radical believed further that individuals can gain a personal knowledge of God, that they possess a spark of the divine, that they are able to exercise gifts of the Spirit, and that the gospel of Jesus Christ would be restored through divine intervention.

Latter-day Saints will recognize the similarity of these "radical" beliefs to their own convictions, but few are aware that these beliefs foreshadowed the gospel of Jesus Christ as proclaimed by Joseph Smith and had been professed by radical groups since the Reformation. The task of this study was

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5. George Huntston Williams, *The Radical Reformation* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962).

6. Justin Winsor, *The Memorial History of Boston*, vol. 1 (Boston: James R. Osgood and Co., 1881), 169.

to determine the degree to which progenitors of early LDS converts were associated with these earlier radical religious orientations. I have relied on genealogical data taken from the LDS Ancestral Files to locate the religious practices and beliefs of several thousand progenitors of early Mormon converts.

It is important to stress that the methodology used in this study involved a complicated process of family historiography. Fortunately, the tradition of the LDS Church makes such a study possible because Mormon doctrine motivates its members to engage in extensive genealogical research. The data collected by millions of genealogical researchers are now readily available in LDS family history centers and through the internet, and the technology is now available to trace family lines.

Early Latter-day Saint Converts

We began by determining who the early LDS converts were. On the surface, the problem was rather straightforward; however, the solution was more difficult. Although the LDS church has always been a record-keeping institution, membership data on early members are sporadic, impressionistic, and unreliable because records were often lost or otherwise destroyed. Dean May points out that the first systematic reports on LDS membership were published in 1879.[7] However, the minutes of the first general conference of the church, on June 9, 1830, approximately two months after it was organized, report twenty-seven members, while the minutes of the second general conference, which took place on September 26-28, report sixty-two members.[8] Larry Porter has also identified at least 139 names of individuals who were likely baptized during the so-called New York-Pennsylvania period.[9] By the beginning of 1831, the body of the Saints had moved to Kirtland, Ohio, because the first great surge in membership ranks occurred in Ohio in the fall of 1830 when Parley P. Pratt, Ziba Peterson, Oliver Cowdery and Peter Whitmer, Jr., converted a number of people associated with Alexander Campbell.[10] Their visit to Ohio came at a fortuitous time, because the local leader, Sidney Rigdon, had become dissatisfied with Camp-

7. Dean May, "A Demographic Portrait of the Mormons, 1830-1980," in D. Michael Quinn, ed., *The New Mormon History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), 121.

8. Most of these members belonged to one of three branches at Palmyra, New York; Coleville, New York; and Harmony, Pennsylvania. See Joseph Fielding Smith, *The Essentials of Church History* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1950), 97, 113.

9. Larry E. Porter, "A Study of the Origins of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the States of New York and Pennsylvania, 1816-1830," PhD diss., Brigham Young University, 1971.

10. Parley P. Pratt baptized 127 people in Kirtland on their first visit, and he claims that the number of members "soon increased to one thousand," although no evidence exists to

bellite doctrines and was seeking other means to restore "the ancient order of things" including "supernatural gifts and miracles."

There is no single source that provides a complete list of early LDS converts. The most comprehensive catalogue of membership prior to the exodus to the Rocky Mountains was made under the direction of Susan Easton Black. It is based on primary and secondary sources, including minute books, journals, autobiographies, biographies, periodicals, and genealogical materials. Black compiled a fifty-volume list of information, including dates of baptism, concerning all known church membership prior to 1848.[11] Unfortunately, the Black materials do not provide the time of baptism for several thousand of these converts, including many of those who joined the church prior to 1835. It was necessary to engage in my own analysis to identify the baptismal dates of these converts. A number of valuable secondary sources is also available.[12] The so-called *Far West Record* is a compilation of the minutes of church-related meetings between 1830 and 1844; the appendix of that record lists biographical notes on approximately 375 names noted in the minutes, including several baptismal dates.[13] A four-volume *History of the Church* (a compilation of historical materials dictated by Joseph Smith) provides a chronology of church events during Smith's life; in the text the prophet names more than 200 people as members of the church prior to 1835.[14] Milton V. Backman published a detailed analysis of the members of the Kirtland Branch, where the Saints lived until they relocated to Missouri in the latter half of the 1830s.[15] He identified more than 800 male members, their spouses, and parents. Additional sources included lists of members of Zion's Camp, the Danites, marriage dates in Kirtland and Nauvoo, and the death notices in Nauvoo.[16] Almost all these materials gave little indication of baptismal dates, and it was necessary to conduct

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corroborate that claim. See Parley P. Pratt, *The Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt*, ed. Parley P. Pratt, Jr. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1964), 48. Lucy Mack Smith wrote to her father on January 6, 1831 that 300 hundred had been baptized in Ohio. See Ben E. Rich, *Scrapbook of Mormon Literature* (Chicago: Henry C. Etten, 1910), 543-45.

11. Available at www.myfamily.com, or as part of a computer software package known as LDS Family History, Suite 2.

12. May points out that the first systematic reports on LDS membership were published in 1879. See May, 121.

13. Donald Q. Cannon and Lyndon W. Cook, *Far West Record: Minutes of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: 1830-1844* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983).

14. Membership is noted by labels such as Sister Newel Knight, Brother David Whitmer, Bishop Edward Partridge, Elder Brigham Young, etc. See Joseph Smith, *The History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, comp. B.H. Roberts (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1902).

15. Milton V. Backman, Jr., *A Profile of Latter-day Saints of Kirtland, Ohio and Members of Zion's Camp: 1830-1839* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1983).

16. Backman, App. I. See also Lyndon W. Cook, *Nauvoo Deaths and Marriages: 1839-1845* (Orem, Utah: Grandin Book Company, 1994).

my own search of ordinance data, particularly through the LDS Ancestral File. I have been able to identify approximately 1,400 members who were likely baptized prior to 1835.

I have chosen to focus on converts baptized before 1835, before British converts began to join the church. Therefore, any reference here to LDS converts means persons who joined the church between 1830 and the end of 1834. Two additional criteria were set for selecting my sample of early Latter-day Saints. First, it is crucial to give attention to those who made a mature, deliberate decision to be baptized, and so my sample only includes those converts who were at least fifteen years of age when they were baptized. Second, because I wished to trace the genealogical lines to the beginning of the colonial period in America when the expression of religious radicalism was strong, I included only early LDS converts for whom the LDS Ancestral File provides at least one sixth-generation progenitor.

These criteria neglect a number of early converts, particularly women, even though I checked the "Family Group Record" of all male members to determine if and when wives and children were baptized. Ancestral files are incomplete even for men who played a crucial role in the formative stages of the church, including William E. McLellin, Ziba Peterson, Charles C. Rich, and Sidney Rigdon.

I found 583 early LDS converts who satisfied my criteria.[17] Although the baptismal dates of ninety-three of these converts are disputed, contextual information indicates that they were baptized during the time in question.[18] The total sample represents approximately 40 percent of the church membership during that time.[19] I will give special attention to the sixth-generation ancestors of early LDS converts, because this group represents the first generation that could have been born in early colonial America. Their average birth date was 1646.

Progenitors of Early LDS Converts

If I had been able to identify every progenitor of every early Latter-day Saint convert, I would have doubled the progenitors in each generation. Consequently, two second-generation progenitors would multiply to four third-, eight fourth-, sixteen fifth-, and thirty-two sixth-generation progeni-

17. The names of these LDS converts are available on request from the author.

18. The numbers of LDS converts in this study by year are: 1829-30 (103); 1831 (98); 1832 (110); 1833 (142); 1834 (37); date disputed (93), for a total of 583 converts.

19. An exact count of church membership during the first five years does not exist. The sample size was determined by extrapolating the sample size from the New York-Pennsylvania period. Porter has identified 139 names of converts during this early period of the church; 56 satisfied my criteria for inclusion in the study, representing 40.3 percent. See Porter, "A Study of the Origins." This percentage places church membership in the beginning of 1835 at about 1,500.

tors. The ideal number of sixth-generation progenitors for the 583 Latter-day Saints in the study would be 18,656. In fact, we see in Table 1 that 56 percent (10,492) of all possible sixth-generation progenitors were found. Of course, the percentage of progenitors identified increases with the fifth (64 percent), fourth (77 percent), third (90 percent), and second (99.7 percent) generations. This is a remarkable outcome of the study and is a testimony to the extensive genealogical work so many Latter-day Saints have done.

We also see in Table 1 that about 30 percent (3,086) of sixth-generation progenitors were born in Europe, but only about 3 percent of the fifth- (224) and fourth- (113) generation progenitors were born in Europe, while almost no third-, second-, or first-generation progenitors were born in Europe. In other words, almost all the progenitors of every generation after the sixth were born in North America. In addition, few of these progenitors were born outside New England. In fact, 60 percent (349) of the LDS converts themselves were born in New England.

If we break down the data for the sixth generation, we find more specific information. Table 2 shows that 6 percent (655) of the sixth-generation progenitors were born and died in Europe; 23 percent (2,431) were born in Europe and migrated to America; 68 percent (7,170) were born in America (including New England, New York, the mid-Atlantic and the south); and

Table 1
LDS Progenitors Identified by Birthplace and Generation

Where Born	1st Gen.	2nd Gen.	3rd Gen.	4th Gen.	5th Gen.	6th Gen.
Europe	1	6	25	113	224	3,086
Outside New England	232	273	356	408	458	375
New England	349	884	1,712	3,079	5,333	6,795
Unknown Birthplace	1	–	–	–	–	236
Total	583	1,163	2,093	3,600	6,015	10,492

Table 2
Birthplaces of Sixth-Generation LDS Progenitors

	Progenitors' Birthplace	Percentage of Total
Europe	655	5.6
Europe but Migrated	2,431	23.2
New England	6,795	64.8
New York	293	2.8
Mid-Atlantic	51	0.5
South	31	0 3
Birthplace Unknown	236	2.2
Total	10,492	100.0

2 percent (236) have unknown birthplaces. Of those sixth-generation progenitors who were born in America, 95 percent (6,795) were born in early colonial New England. Of those 5 percent (450) born elsewhere in the colonies, 3 percent were born in New York (293), another 1 percent (51) were born in the mid-Atlantic region, and only 0.3 percent (31) were born in the South. Thus, almost all the sixth-generation progenitors of the early LDS church converts were either born in New England or moved to New England from Europe, and they apparently remained in New England through the fifth, fourth, third, and second generations, until their descendants joined the church in the 1830s.

Let us put these figures into context. New England was never dominant in terms of America's colonial population. Approximately 30 percent of the population of the colonies lived in New England, while the majority lived in the mid-Atlantic and southern regions. In fact, Virginia contained more inhabitants than all the New England colonies combined. However, few early LDS converts and their progenitors came from the mid-Atlantic or south.[20]

When placed in the context of the general New England population, the raw number of sixth-generation progenitors is striking. The U.S. Bureau of the Census estimates that approximately 22,800 British settlers were living in New England by 1650.[21] One might be tempted to conclude, on the basis of the 9,091 sixth-generation New England progenitors who have been identified in the middle of the seventeenth century, that 40 percent of the entire population were progenitors of LDS converts. This would be faulty reasoning because of the overlap in names; i.e., one early LDS convert would likely have progenitors who were also progenitors of other converts. However, one does find 2,688 people who are progenitors of only one of the 583 LDS converts in this study, and no fewer than 4,541 different or unique names are found among sixth-generation progenitors. This means that at least 20 percent (4,541) of the 1650 population of New England (22,800) were direct-line ancestors of LDS converts, although the percentage could rise substantially higher as additional progenitors are identified (see Table 3).

New England Religious Orientations and Their LDS Convert Connections

Earlier in this paper, I hypothesized that the progenitors of early LDS converts would exhibit a special "radical" spiritual orientation. The fact that almost all these converts shared a heritage reaching back to the earliest

20. New York is an exception due to its historical significance in the westward migration from New England.

21. *World Almanac and Book of Facts* (Mahwah, N.J.: World Almanac Books, 1997), 378.

Table 3
Combined Birthplaces and Places of Death of Sixth-Generation Immigrant LDS Progenitors Compared to Total New England Population in 1650

	Ply Col	Mass	Conn	RI	NH	ME	Totals
LDS Progenitors							
(15.3%)					1,390		
(49.4%)					4,494		
(24%)					2,189		
(7.4%)					675		
(2.2%)					197		
(1.6%)					146		
(100%)					9,091		
Unique Names	653	2,186	1,185	314	122	81	4,541
NE Population in 1650							
(4.4%)					1,000		
(64%)					14,600		
(18%)					4,100		
(3.5%)					800		
(5.7%)					1,300		
(4.4%)					1,000		
(100%)					22,800		

years of America's New England colonial history suggests in itself a special spiritual orientation. It indicates that the forerunners of early converts shared a two-century heritage in a country Latter-day Saints believe to be a land of promise, a land "choice above all other lands," a land "consecrated" for the restoration of the gospel of Jesus Christ.[22]

While all religions in New England might be characterized as radical, three main levels of radicalism were found: Puritans, Separatists, and Radical Spiritualists.[23] My best estimate is that up to 85 percent of the population of New England was Puritan, 10 percent Separatist, and no more than 5 percent Radical Spiritualist. In this section I will describe these groups and examine the degree of association between LDS progenitors and these radical groups.

Puritans

In some respects the term "Puritan" was applied to most radical religious groups in seventeenth-century England and New England.[24] In this

22. 2 Nephi 1:5-8.

23. I have borrowed the term "Radical Spiritualist" from Philip Gura, *A Glimpse of Zion's Glory: Puritan Radicalism in New England, 1620-1660* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1984).

24. Edward H. Bloomfield, *The Opposition to the English Separatists, 1570-1625* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1981), x.

study, however, we shall distinguish between Puritans, Separatists, and Radical Spiritualists. Puritans were dedicated to the goals of the Reformation in that they desired personal righteousness and a more constant level of morality in church and state, but they wished to remain within the boundaries of the Church of England. Puritans were also dedicated to the notion that scripture alone served as the guide to their faith and life. They rejected both the Catholic and Anglican traditions of ritual, church authority, and dogma, as well as the claims of more radical reformers that the scriptures were supplemented by direct revelation from God and an "inner light." Puritanism was closely bound with Calvinism and the vernacular Bible.

The Puritans were located largely in Massachusetts and Connecticut. We recall that the Massachusetts Bay Colony was started almost a decade after the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth, but quickly became the dominant force in New England. Massachusetts Bay settlers were intent on cleansing the Church of England, to purify it. Thus, they were known as the Puritans. Even though its landmass was no larger than that of Plymouth Colony, by 1650 at least 14,600 individuals lived there, in contrast to 1,000 in Plymouth Colony. In fact, 64 percent of New Englanders resided in Massachusetts at the time.

The Connecticut and New Haven colonies were also dominated by Puritans. Their inhabitants had fled the problems wracking Massachusetts, setting up communities of small, tightly knit groups of people who wished to establish theocratic polities. About 4,100 people lived in Connecticut/New Haven by 1650, which was 18 percent of the New England population. Here quite a different picture emerged. Connecticut was "a small, inconspicuous agricultural colony," isolated from the main currents of religious and political activity.[25] Its people did not fit the Massachusetts profile, with its extreme class distinctions; rather, each congregation was left to its own devices to form its individual character. Connecticut Puritans took pride in their independence: Their norms and politics coincided more nearly with those of the Pilgrims in Plymouth.

Given the great numbers of progenitors who lived in the Puritan colonies, we can assume that Puritanism played a substantial role in the religious orientation of these progenitors. It is clearly appropriate to draw connections between Mormonism and Puritan thought and beliefs.[26] Joseph Smith resonated well with Puritan beliefs, in part because almost all

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25. Charles McLean Andrews, *Connecticut's Place in Colonial History* (New Haven: Connecticut Society of Colonial Wars, 1923), 9.

26. See, for example, James R. Christianson, "Puritanism and Mormonism: Parallel Paths—A Parting of the Ways," in Donald M. Cannon, ed., *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: New England* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, Department of Church History and Doctrine, 1988).

his sixth-generation ancestors were born in Puritan Massachusetts. However, such an argument fails to explain the population distribution of people who were attracted to the message of Joseph Smith. Given the overall population distribution of New England, we might have expected converts to come largely from the northern areas of New England, but in fact the number of progenitors born in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Maine was substantially under-represented. (Progenitors who did reside in New Hampshire and Maine came from communities which showed radical religious tendencies.) In addition, the progenitors were substantially over-represented in the thinly settled areas of Plymouth, Rhode Island, and Connecticut/New Haven.

It is instructive to examine the Massachusetts Bay Colony to determine where the LDS progenitors lived. Greene and Harrington claim the population of Boston was 14,300 in 1664, and the population of Massachusetts was 23,461 in 1665,[27] which suggests that up to 60 percent of the early Massachusetts population resided in the Boston area.[28] Yet we find that fewer than 14 percent of the Massachusetts progenitors were born in Suffolk County, where Boston is located, and fewer than 5 percent were born in Boston itself. Clearly, the progenitors of early converts were not concentrated in the center of Massachusetts; rather, they were primarily in Essex (1,550) and Middlesex (1,379) counties.[29] In addition, more than half the Massachusetts progenitors came from only ten towns. We find more progenitors living in the towns of Salem, Ipswich, Rowley, and Watertown than were living in Boston.

The Massachusetts county with the most progenitors of LDS converts was Essex, with 35 percent of all Massachusetts progenitors. In fact, 40 percent (233) of LDS had at least one sixth-generation progenitor from Essex County. This is of particular interest to us because much of Essex County was politically identified at mid-century with New Hampshire, where a radical religious element resided.[30] The courts of New Hampshire covered much of Essex County, so the political representatives were the same.[31] The area also deviated in tone and practice from mainstream Puritanism. First,

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27. Evarts B. Greene and Virginia D. Harrington, *American Population before the Federal Census of 1790* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), 13, 19.

28. This claim is supported by a survey of houses in various coastal communities at the time, which indicated that 60 percent of Massachusetts' homes were located in Boston. See G. D. Scull, "Historical Notes and Letters Relating to Early New England," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 38 (October 1884): 378-81.

29. The numbers of sixth-generation progenitors of early LDS converts born in or emigrating to counties in the Massachusetts Bay Colony were: Essex (1,550); Hampton (299); Middlesex (1,379); Suffolk (602); Other (402).

30. Scull, "Historical Notes and Letters."

31. Victor C. Sanborn, "Stephen Bachiler: An Unforgiven Puritan." (Paper prepared for the New Hampshire Historical Society, 1875, Part II, 178-204.) See also Scull, "Historical Notes and Letters."

many of its towns had been settled for economic reasons before the Massachusetts Bay Puritans arrived in the new world, and there was continuous competition between the Massachusetts Bay Company and other groups claiming coastal territories. Second, the major town in the area, Salem, tended toward Separatism, harboring the largest number of Antinomians outside of Boston, and in the 1640s and 50s, a good share of Gortonists and Anabaptists as well.[32] The Society of Friends also made its first inroads in the Salem area.[33] Third, Essex County was the location of the infamous witch trials of 1692, which is indicative of the spiritual agitation cutting through the communities.

A high concentration of sixth-generation progenitors of early LDS converts is found in Puritan Connecticut. Indeed, 53 percent (309) of all the early LDS converts in this study had at least one sixth-generation progenitor from Connecticut. While the colony of Connecticut could claim only about 4,100 inhabitants at the time, we find no fewer than 1,185 different last names among the sixth-generation progenitors of early converts and an astounding 2,181 different first and last names. This means that more than half the residents of early Connecticut were progenitors of early LDS converts, even after accounting for duplicate names.

Furthermore, these progenitors were clearly concentrated in a few Connecticut counties and towns. In fact, 50 percent of all progenitors were located in only five towns. The earliest permanent settlements in Connecticut were Hartford, Wethersfield, and Windsor, all in Hartford County. Thirty percent of all progenitors of LDS converts were located in the three towns of this county, which should not be surprising, because in mid-century it was by far the most populated county in Connecticut.

The most prominent group in early Connecticut comprised the followers of Thomas Hooker,[34] whose life in England paralleled that of other Puritan divines. While a minister at Chelmsford, England, Hooker had been "silenced for non-conformity." He spent three years in Holland as a dissenter prior to emigrating to New England, arriving in September 1633, where he joined his Chelmsford flock, most of whom had preceded him to Massachusetts.[35] He was disturbed with the turmoil in the Boston area and decided the group would settle away from Boston in the Connecticut Valley.[36] Hooker and the main body of believers arrived in what would

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32. Carla Gardina Pestana, "Sectarianism in Colonial Massachusetts," Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1987, 18-19.

33. Carla Gardina Pestana, *Quakers and Baptists in Colonial Massachusetts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

34. Thomas Hooker is a direct-line progenitor of LDS converts Shadrach Roundy and Uriah Roundy.

35. G. H. Hollister, *The History of Connecticut* (New Haven: Durrie and Peck, 1855), 1: 22.

36. George Leon Walker, *Thomas Hooker: Preacher, Founder, Democrat* (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Co., 1891).

become Hartford in the fall of 1635. Included in the Hooker group were names which anyone interested in early LDS history would readily recognize. Settlers such as John and William Pratt, William Parker, William Partridge, Paul Peck, and Richard Webb were ancestors of a host of early LDS converts.

Almost an equal number of progenitors has been identified in Windsor. In October of the same year in which Hooker settled Hartford, the Reverend John Wareham brought a flock of about sixty souls to a place they named Windsor, just north of Hartford. Wareham had been an "eminent minister" in Exeter, England, who had lived briefly in Dorchester, Massachusetts, before moving with his people to Windsor.[37] Although Windsor was a small settlement with a population in the low hundreds at midcentury, large numbers of LDS progenitors were born there. No fewer than eighty-three of the 583 LDS converts in our sample had sixth-generation relatives born in Windsor. These converts included well-known names such as W. W. Phelps, Polly Peck, Edward Partridge, Sr., Luke Johnson, Orson Hyde, Lorenzo Snow, and many others. I found a total of 252 Windsor progenitors of those eighty-three early LDS converts, which means each convert averaged almost three progenitors from Windsor, suggesting intense family and communal connections of large numbers of progenitors of early Saints.

A third Hartford County group settled in Wethersfield, just south of Hartford. Here I found at least 162 sixth-generation ancestors born in Wethersfield who are direct-line, sixth-generation progenitors of seventy-four early LDS converts. Included among these were well-known names such as the Fisk family, Orson Hyde, Edward Partridge, Sr., the Joseph Smith, Sr., family, Lucy Mack, Daniel Wells, Frederick G. Williams, Wilford Woodruff, and the Young family.

New London County, where considerable numbers of progenitors were also located, maintained an independent, radical orientation similar to Rhode Island. It is the location of the first Anabaptists in Connecticut and the birthplace of the Rogerene movement.

New Haven Colony was established through the efforts of Theophilus Eaton and his brother, Reverend Samuel Eaton, along with Reverend John Davenport. The saga of Davenport is typical of those who set out to form their own colonial group in New England. After graduating from Oxford in 1615 he became a preacher in London. In 1624 he was "elected . . . to the vicarage of St. Stephen's," a large, wealthy, middle-class parish which had a clear Congregational orientation.[38] With the accession of Archbishop Laud

37. Elias B. Sanford, *A History of Connecticut* (Hartford: S. S. Scranton, 1888), 20.

38. Rollin G. Osterweis, *Three Centuries of New Haven, 1638-1938* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), 9.

in 1633, Davenport was compelled to flee to Holland. One of his London parishioners, Theophilus Eaton, was a boyhood schoolmate who had become a prominent businessman. Under cover, Davenport returned to London where he and Eaton organized a company consisting mainly of his old wealthy parish, and in April 1637 they set sail on the ship *Hector*, intending to establish the most thoroughgoing theocracy in New England. After picking up additional followers, the group sailed to New Haven the next spring.[39]

While the New Haven population barely exceeded 800 by mid-century, and no more than 1,000 prior to annexation to Connecticut in 1665, the colony claimed no fewer than 530 sixth-generation progenitors of early LDS converts. Of course, many of the converts had duplicate ancestors, but nevertheless, approximately 43 percent of all the original settlers in New Haven colony were the progenitors of at least one early LDS convert.

Separatists

Separatists, who broke away from the Church of England altogether, formed the second level of religious radicalism in New England. H. S. Stout portrays them as "the most radical, unpopular Puritan faction of their age."[40] In England, Separatists and non-Separatists maintained strong differences, but there were important common elements. For example, both Puritans and Separatists relied heavily on Calvinist doctrine. However, the term "Separatist" refers to those who believed "the English Church was a false church and that it would never be reformed." The Church of England was seen as being "so tainted with Romanism that no true Christian could remain part of it."[41] The Pilgrims originated mainly from the village of Scrooby and had found the situation so intolerable in England that they moved first to Amsterdam[42] then to Leyden, Holland. They recognized that Holland was a temporary place of residence, and on August 5, 1620, a few members of their congregation joined certain "adventurers" and set sail on the Mayflower for the New World. The original Pilgrim colony at Cape Cod never thrived. By 1624 only 180 individuals lived in the colony, which was quickly overshadowed by Massachusetts Bay Colony.[43]

However, Plymouth Colony set the tone for certain religious traditions in New England which melded the differences between Puritans and Sepa-

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39. Francis J. Degnan, *A New Look at Old New Haven* (New Haven, Yale-New Haven Teachers Institute, 1992), 5.

40. H. S. Stout, "Puritanism," in Daniel G. Reid, ed., *Dictionary of Christianity in America* (Downers Grove, Ill.: Intervarsity Press, 1990), 966.

41. Bloomfield, x.

42. Marion L. Starkey, *The Congregational Way: The Role of the Pilgrims and Their Heirs in Shaping America* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1966), 17.

43. Greene and Harrington, 10.

ratists. We noted above that although the Plymouth Separatists failed to flourish in terms of numbers, they established the framework for Congregationalism which took hold in New England with both Separatist and non-Separatist bodies.[44] The Pilgrims claimed that every church was a unit, independent of all outside control, including the hierarchical officials of the church. Thus, when the *Mayflower* arrived at Cape Cod, the Pilgrim leaders concluded a compact, based on the Scrooby Church Covenant, wherein they declared:

> We . . . solemnly and mutually . . . covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic for our better ordering and preservation . . . for the general good of the colony, unto which we promise all due subjection and obedience.[45]

That covenant formed the basis of government for the small group by establishing the congregation as the ruling body over church members, and it set the pattern for other congregations in the colonies. When the Salem congregation was organized as a body of Puritans, the Plymouth influence prevailed, and that congregation also established itself as an independent covenant body.[46] By 1645, twenty-three churches had been organized in Massachusetts, and all had adopted the Congregational framework.[47] Although the differences between Puritans and Separatists were melded in New England, distinctions remained, particularly with regard to church/state matters.

Some connections between Separatists and the LDS church have already been established in the literature. For example, in 1920 B. Roland Lewis wrote an article for the *Improvement Era,* in celebration of the Tercentenary Celebration of the *Mayflower,* which extolled the contribution of the Pilgrims to American and Mormon thought. Lewis correctly suggested that Pilgrim thought has more in common with Mormon orientations than does Puritanism. A rewarding aspect of my own research has been finding such a high number of Pilgrim family lines tied to early LDS converts. It is possible to tie significant numbers of progenitors of early Latter-day Saint converts to those first Pilgrim refugees. In fact, at least 67 of the 583 Latter-day Saint converts in this study have progenitors who arrived on the *Mayflower.*

The large number of LDS converts connected with the *Mayflower* is especially significant because more than half its 102 passengers died that first

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44. Louise M. Greene, *The Development of Religious Liberty in Connecticut* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1905).

45. B. Roland Lewis, "The Pilgrims and the Utah Pioneers," *Improvement Era* 24 (Dec. 1920): 95-103.

46. Michael R. Watts, *The Dissenters* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 103.

47. William Warren Sweet, *Religion in Colonial America* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1942), 87.

winter, while several other "adventurers" returned to England within a short time. John Landis has determined that only twenty-two heads of household from the Mayflower exist from whom all descent can be traced without duplication.[48] I have traced early convert direct lines back to at least fifteen of these twenty-two heads of household.[49] Of course, many LDS converts claim multiple Mayflower ancestors. Mary Ann Kennedy, for example, had five Mayflower ancestors, while the fourteen converts who had links with John Howland, including the Pratt brothers and the Joseph Smith family (through Lucy Mack), would automatically be connected not only with Howland but also with Howland's wife, Elizabeth Tillie (often spelled Tilley), and her parents, John Tillie and Joan Hurst Tillie, constituting four Mayflower progenitors.

We find in Table 3 that while the mid-century population of Plymouth Colony was only 1,000, an astounding 1,382 ancestors of early LDS converts are recorded. Naturally the number of progenitors cannot exceed the entire population. Duplicate names account for most of this anomaly. For example, the names John Garnsey, John Chase, and John Eddy were all ancestors of eleven early LDS converts, while Sarah Smith was an ancestor of ten converts. A more realistic figure would be the number of unique first and last names among the progenitors, which is 653. Even so, this figure suggests that almost two-thirds of all individuals living in Plymouth Colony in the mid-1600s were progenitors of early converts. If we look from another vantage point, we find that at least 45 percent (262 of 583) of the early converts in our study claimed relationship either to people born in early Plymouth Colony or to those who came from England to reside in Plymouth Colony.

To provide a picture of the Separatist world, I shall focus on a single town, Barnstable, which was settled by a group under the leadership of

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48. John Landis, *Mayflower Descendents and Their Marriages for Two Generations after the Landing* (Baltimore: Southern Book Co., 1956).

49. Early LDS converts are shown in parentheses: John Alden (Elizabeth Hathaway, Lucy Simmons, Noah Packard, Joseph Coe, Mary Ann Kennedy, the John Young family, Joel Hills Johnson, Julia Ann Johnson, Deleana Johnson, Cyril Call and Anson Call); Isaac Allerton (Mary Ann Kennedy); John Billington (Polly Chadwick, Anna P. Johnson, Martin H. Peck); William Bradford (Josiah Sumner, Elizabeth Hathaway); William Brewster (Daniel Avery, Rhoda Walker, Sarah King); Peter Brown (Olive Farwell and Isaac Freeman); James Childon (Sophia Bundy); Francis Cooke (Soloman Chamberlain, Jesse Baker, Lydia and Ira Ames, John Tanner, Titus Billings, Stephen Chase Noah Packard, Mary Ann Kennedy, Elijah Cheney); Edward Fuller (Lucy Mack and the Smith family, Frederick G. Williams, Ashael A. Lathrop); Stephen Hopkins (Stephen Chase, Titus Billings, Noah Packard); John Howland (Dimick B. Huntington, Lucy Mack and the Smith family, Orson, Parley Parker and William D. Pratt, Lyman Curtis, Emma Hale, Mary Ann Kennedy, Lyman Curtis); Thomas Rogers (Luke, John Jr., Lyman and Nancy Johnson, Chauncey Calkins, Sarah Webber, Elizabeth Hathaway); Henry Sampson (Mayhew Hillman); George Soule (Lucy Simmons); Richard Warren (Mary Ann Kennedy, Olive Farwell, Isaac Freeman, Solomon Chamberlain).

John Lathrop. As a minister in Yorkshire, England, Lathrop had established a clear record of public protest against the prevailing religious orientation. He decided that the Church of England had lost its way, so in 1623 he renounced his religious orders and declared he would henceforth espouse the cause of the religious "Independents." He moved the next year to London, where he succeeded Henry Jacob as the Pastor of the First Independent Church. In 1624 his church was formally banned by the government, and for eight years the congregation worshipped in secret. In 1632, John Lathrop and forty-three members of his parish were arrested on the improbable charge of practicing the teachings of the New Testament.[50]

While in prison Lathrop's first wife died, and he was released after two years on condition that he and his followers leave the country. He, his family, and many of his parishioners sailed for New England on the same ship as Anne Marbury Hutchinson, arriving in Boston on September 18, 1634. He then organized a church for his flock at Scituate in Plymouth Colony, where he remained for two years before the group moved to Barnstable in October 1639, apparently because of disputes over the proper mode of baptism.[51]

Barnstable was a rather small town compared with places like Boston, Charlestown, Hingham, and Ipswich, but 116 people born around the mid-1600s have been identified in that town alone as progenitors of early converts. Lathrop has long been identified as an ancestor of many Mormon leaders, including Frederick G. Williams, Oliver Cowdery, Hyrum and Joseph Smith (through Lucy Mack), Wilford Woodruff, as well as Orson and Parley Parker Pratt.[52] However, he was also the ancestor of a number of more ordinary early converts. It would take us too far afield to identify by name more than fifty of the early converts who are direct-line descendents of those in the congregation who accompanied John Lathrop to Barnstable, but that congregation clearly was an important feeder institution for early church converts.

Radical Spiritualists

The third level of religious radicalism in New England included those whose religious orientation was so radical that they were persecuted, ostracized, and usually expelled not only from England, but from the power center of New England. I will now examine the degree to which progenitors of early LDS converts were associated with these Radical Spiritualists.

Some observations related to geography are in order. The two geographical areas of colonial New England that might be considered the most

50. Charles Henry Pope, *The Pioneers of Massachusetts* (Boston: Charles H. Pope, 1900), 202.

51. Elijah Baldwin Huntington, *A Genealogical Memoire of the Lo-Lathrop Family* (Ridgefield, Conn., 1884), 28.

52. Archibald Bennett, "Orson Pratt as a Genealogist," *Deseret News*, April 25, 1936, p. 2.

radical would be Rhode Island and New Hampshire. More than 20 percent of the early LDS converts in this study have direct-line progenitors either born in or immigrating to Rhode Island, even though it contained less than 8 percent of the New England population. From another vantage point, we find that among the 623 progenitors in Rhode Island there are 309 different names, constituting one-third of the entire population of the colony at mid-seventeenth century. In other words, substantial connections are found in Rhode Island between the early colonial residents and early LDS converts. When we turn to New Hampshire, we find the connections are not so substantial. Even so, fifty-eight early converts in this study have direct-line progenitors either born in or immigrating to that area. The New Hampshire population was clustered largely within four townships: Dover, Portsmouth, Hampton, and Exeter. We shall find that radical leanings have been identified in all these towns except Portsmouth, and the progenitors of early LDS converts were indeed centered in these more radical towns.

Various overlapping categories of radicals can be identified. First, certain heretical individuals gained the spotlight, and groups of people rallied around them; pertinent here are Roger Williams, Anne Marbury Hutchinson, and Samuell Gorton. Second, radical religious groups were transported to the colonies from England, e.g., Anabaptists and Quakers. Third, several Puritan congregations were radicalized in New England by oppressive actions taken by Puritan leaders; I will focus on the congregations of John Wheelwright and Stephen Bachiler. It should be clear that great overlap exists among the three categories, although they provide some framework for discussion.

Heretical Individuals: Williams, Hutchinson, and Gorton

Among those who called for radical change, none were more important for those interested in LDS roots than Roger Williams, Anne Marbury Hutchinson, and Samuell Gorton. They foreshadowed many of the claims made by Joseph Smith at the time of the organization of the church.

While as many as nineteen people, the first in 1624, were expelled from New England towns prior to Roger Williams's expulsion, he was the first to gain historical renown. The account of his expulsion is well known, so I will content myself with delineating certain aspects of his religious beliefs. He believed that the Antichrist had reigned for 1,260 years and had destroyed the original Church of Jesus Christ. In his eyes, the Anglicans, Puritans, and Separatists were no more legitimate than the church of Rome because they continued to accept the validity of ordinances such as infant baptism.[53] In Rhode Island, Williams made arrangements in 1639 for

53. W. Clark Gilpin, *The Millenarian Piety of Roger Williams* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1979), 53-54.

Ezekiel Holliman to rebaptize him, although he was uncomfortable with the procedure and eventually declared it invalid. He believed that true ordinances such as baptism could only be restored by a special commission from God.[54] He believed God's plan was to restore the Church of Jesus Christ in its original pattern, and the church would only be restored through the millennial appearance of new apostles.[55]

In spite of his forbearing and magnanimous attitude, Williams was so resolute in his convictions that he was expelled. The hierarchy of Massachusetts expected Williams to go back to England, but he chose instead to travel into the wilderness and eventually settled with several of his "friends and neighbors" in what was to become Providence, Rhode Island. The group consisted of about twelve households, and at least twenty-nine early LDS converts claimed one or more heads of household as direct-line progenitors.[56] In other words, progenitors of LDS converts were in rich abundance in settling Rhode Island and establishing the spiritual and cultural norms that reigned in the area.

We turn now to Anne Marbury Hutchinson, a central figure of the so-called Antinomian crisis of the 1630s. Thomas Bicknell summarizes her life in the following way:

> In matters of religion and theology Anne Hutchinson was a seer, a prophetess, "a Daniel, come to jedgment [sic]." Three great spiritual concepts possessed her. She believed that the human soul could and did hold close communication with the Divine Over-Soul. She believed in direct and special revelations from the divine to the human, from God to her own soul. She also believed in a spiritual justification of the soul of man, with God, through faith.[57]

The debate that led to her conviction and expulsion from Massachusetts was related to grace and works. However, since beliefs were respected as matters of conscience, she could never have been expelled exclusively over this issue. Rather, her expulsion was ensured when she was asked in her trial why she was so certain of her position. She explained, "I shall give

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54. John Callender, *An Historical Discourse on the Civil and Religious Affairs of the Colony of Rhode-Island*, with annotations and documents ed. by Romeo Elation (1843; repr. New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1971).

55. Gilpin, 59.

56. LDS converts are shown in parentheses: Roger Williams (Eleazer Miller, Lucina Streeter, and Catherine Slauson); Stukeley Westcott (Erastus Wightman and Catharine Slauson); William Arnold (Lydia Ackerman, Celinda Ackerman, and Barnell Cole); John Greene, Sr. (Orson Pratt, Parley Parker Pratt, Anson Pratt, William Dickinson Pratt, Maria Sagers, Reynolds Cahoon, William Farrington Cahoon, Evan Molbourne Greene, and John Port. Greene); William Harris (Lydia and Celinda Ackerman); William Carpenter (Horace Morley, Lucy Diantha Morley, Laban Morrill, Martin Horton, Ann Eliza, Nancy F., and Sally Ann Peck); Thomas Olney (James William, Solomon, and Thomas Osborn Angell).

57. Thomas W. Bicknell, *Story of Dr. John Clarke* (Providence: T. W. Bicknell, 1915), 59.

you the ground of what I know to be true. . . . The Lord . . . by his prophetical office must open it to me." Her examiner, John Winthrop, pushed her on her meaning, asking how she knew, and she replied, "So to me by an immediate revelation." Thus was her fate sealed because she claimed to know by "the voice of his own spirit to my soul."[58]

The Puritans had taken a strong stand against the leaders of the Church of England who wished to retain certain ceremonial practices and rituals as well as certain theological beliefs from the Catholic Church. The Puritan fathers held firmly to the position that doctrines and practices could be acceptable only if they were validated through the scriptures. Nothing outside the Bible could be used in argument or debate. It was the rock of all knowledge, belief, and practice.[59] Anne Marbury Hutchinson, while rejecting the validity of custom and habit, claimed that her life had been guided not only by the scriptures but by God himself. She claimed that in difficult times "God came often to her," giving direction and meaning to her life.[60] She developed an intimacy with the Spirit that was profound but unsettling to those around her. Hutchinson advocated that the scriptures were powerful and helpful, but that an individual could develop a direct means of reaching God through the "indwelling of the Spirit," a notion that parallels the Latter-day Saint belief in the "Gift of the Holy Ghost."

Some of the negative attitudes of the Puritan hierarchy toward Hutchinson were also related to her claim to possess a gift of healing. The healing arts were connected in that day with witchcraft; the most famous incident of healing gone wrong was that of Mary Dyer who gave birth to a premature "monster child" while being attended by Hutchinson and a midwife friend by the name of Mrs. Hawkins. It was rumored that Hutchinson and Mrs. Hawkins were somehow responsible for the whole hideous event.[61] When Hutchinson was banished, Hawkins was one of those who went with her to Rhode Island. It was widely rumored that Hawkins was a Familist and a witch.[62]

The Hutchinson crisis is known generally as Antinomianism. Battis names 187 males who participated to some degree in the Hutchinson affair, with thirty-eight men forming a core group. The most severe punishment for conviction of Antinomianism was banishment. Within a few months

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58. Edwin S. Gaustad, ed., A *Documentary History of Religion in America to the Civil War* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1993), 133.

59. George E. Ellis, *Puritan Age and Rule in the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay: 1629-1685* (1888; repr. New York: Burt Franklin, 1970), 78-79.

60. Emery Battis, *Saints and Sectaries: Anne Hutchinson and the Antinomian Controversy in the Massachusetts Bay Colony* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1962), 50.

61. Ibid., 177-79.

62. Charles Francis Adams, *Antinomianism in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay: 1636-1638* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1967), 188.

after the verdict against Hutchinson, at least thirty-four heads of household arrived, many with their families, in Rhode Island. Others were convicted but went elsewhere. For example, John Wheelwright took his entire congregation to New Hampshire. Progenitors of LDS converts travelling with Hutchinson included: William Coddington, one of the wealthiest men in the colony; John Coggeshall, a dealer of expensive fabrics; John Sanford; William Denison; Edward Hutchinson, Sr.; Francis Hutchinson; John Porter; Robert Porter; Philip and Samuel Sherman; John Underhill; Robert Potter; William and Thomas Wardell; and John Wheelwright,[63] which is a remarkable number considering that so few progenitors were located in the Boston area.[64]

In addition, several family members of direct-line progenitors were implicated in Antinomianism. Robert Harding is a good case in point. There are no direct-line descendents of Robert among early LDS converts because he moved back to London. However, Robert's younger brother Abraham, who was only a teenager at the time and living with Robert, was undoubtedly a family participant in the Antinomian crisis. He is the progenitor and namesake of Dwight Harding, who was baptized in 1831.[65]

In spite of the lasting visibility of Roger Williams and Anne Marbury Hutchinson, the most schismatic and controversial of the heretics was Samuell Gorton.[66] Gorton was called at various times an "arch-heretic," a "beast," a "miscreant," a "proud and pestilent seducer," and a "prodigious minter of exorbitant novelties."[67] Although he never identified himself with the Family of Love, he was often regarded as a Familist, because both "believed in mystical communion with the Holy Spirit."[68]

Gorton's life before immigrating was conventional, but after arriving in

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63. Battis, App. I.

64. Hutchinson had thirteen children who were slaughtered by Indians in 1643, except for the youngest daughter. She, therefore, has few descendants. LDS converts are shown in parentheses: William (Anne's husband) and Edward Hutchinson (John Port. Greene, Evan Melbourne Greene, Anson Pratt, Parley Parker Pratt, Orson Pratt, William Dickinson Pratt, Meritable Sawyer); John Coggeshall (Rhoda Walker, Alfred, Hulda, Ira, Rhoda, and Russell W. Fisk); William Denison (Catharine Slauson); Robert Potter (William Walker Rust); William Coggington (John Port. Greene, Evan Melbourne Greene); William Dyer (William Wines Phelps); William Wardell (Edmund Durfee, James Durfee, William Walker Rust); John Wheelwright (Olive Lowell); Richard Carder (Anna Knight, Esther Knight, Hyruna Knight, Joseph Knight, Newell Knight, Polly Knight, Vinson Knight, Ezekiel Peck, Hezekiah Peck, Polly Peck, Sally Ann Peck, Nancy F. Peck, Ann Eliza Peck).

65. Glen F. Harding, *A Record of the Ancestry, Family, and Descendents of Abraham Harding* (Ogden, Utah: Glen F. Harding, 1979).

66. Gura, *A Glimpse of Sion's Glory.*

67. Lewis G. Janes, *Samuell Gorton: A Forgotten Founder of Our Liberties: First Settler of Warwick, R.I.* (Providence: Preston and Rounds, 1896), 83.

68. Sydney V. James, *Colonial Rhode Island: A History* (New York; Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975), 28.

Boston in 1636, Gorton suddenly acquired an orientation of disruption and protest. He was initially banished from Boston and moved to Plymouth; then in 1638 he was expelled to Rhode Island. In 1641 he found himself in Providence where he questioned every exercise of civil authority, causing even Roger Williams to wonder at his behavior. He then moved to Warwick, south of Providence, but had to fight off Indian and Massachusetts claims to the land. At one time a force of forty men sought him out and carried him and others to Boston for trial. There he was beaten, jailed, and persecuted because he emphasized the indwelling of the Holy Spirit.[69]

Gorton's theology conflicted directly with the most fundamental tenets of mainstream Christianity. For example, he challenged the prevailing notion of trinitarianism which, since the Nicæan Creed, had dictated that God, Christ, and the Holy Ghost were "of one essence." His beliefs about the Godhead were not the same as those found in Mormonism, but they helped open the way to a challenge of trinitarianism.

One aspect of Gortonism which did coincide with Mormonism was the belief that there is an essential divine spark in human nature. Every human soul possesses that spark; it is neither created nor will it pass away. It is eternal and everlasting. Gorton also anticipates Mormon theology in his belief that good and evil are in eternal conflict. The good and the bad are involved in every action; righteousness is movement toward life eternal, while sin is movement toward damnation. All humankind is participating in a moment of eternity. Gortonists did not look for future existence so much as they strove to attain the heavenly in every action and decision. Gorton believed heaven is not so much a place as a condition of the soul. Gortonists believed both men and women could partake of the Spirit.

Gorton and most of his followers are direct-line progenitors of many LDS converts. John Greene, Sr., the first of a long line of important leaders in Rhode Island, is a good case in point.[70] Greene's religious beliefs were not only consistent with those of Gorton, but his spiritual mysticism was strikingly similar to the universalism of Familists, who practiced a spiritually egalitarian form of Puritanism. Gortonists were universalists who argued, "Goe and preach the Gospell in every creature."[71]

Probably the closest disciple of Gorton was Randall Holdan, who established a permanent Gortonist settlement around Warwick Cove.[72] He has many connections with early LDS converts, including the Knights and

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69. Kenneth W. Porter, "Samuell Gorton: New England Firebrand," *The New England Quarterly* (September, 1934): 405-44.

70. Henry E. Turner, *The Greenes of Warwick in Colonial History* (Newport: Davis and Pitman, Steam Printers, 1877).

71. John L. Brooke, *The Refiner's Fire: The Making of Mormon Cosmology, 1644-1844* (New York: University of Cambridge, 1994), 46.

72. James, 31.

Pecks, Richard Waterman, John Warner, and William Wardell.[73] These and others provide substantial evidence that a good number of those engaged in the most radical movements of that day were the progenitors of many LDS converts.

Anabaptists and Quakers

Although Roger Williams was an Anabaptist for only a few months, his companions became leaders in the establishment of Anabaptists in America. They were never a unified group. While the original congregation was in Providence, another group emerged in Newport under the direction of John Clarke, a man convicted of Antinomianism and one of the more highly educated colonists. Clarke and a small band of fellow believers established the settlement of Newport, Rhode Island, in 1639, and in 1644 the settlement formally established a "baptizing church." In response to Clarke's efforts, Massachusetts moved to make Anabaptistry illegal and curb the spread of Anabaptism beyond Rhode Island.[74] Rehoboth, in Plymouth Colony, for example, was becoming a hotbed for Anabaptist activity. It was akin to the independent spirit of Providence, Rhode Island, less than ten miles away. Echoing Roger Williams, John Browne of Rehoboth often professed "liberty of conscience" and the new mode of baptism. In 1648 at least fourteen Rehoboth residents were rebaptized within a few weeks. Anabaptists included John Hazel, Edward Smith, Obadiah Holmes, Joseph Torry, James Mann, William Deuell, and their families. With pressure from Boston, all except Hazel moved to Rhode Island and became leaders in the Anabaptist congregations of Providence and Newport.[75] Swansea, a tiny village within the boundaries of Rehoboth, on the border of Rhode Island, was known as an Anabaptist community.

Many of the progenitors of LDS converts were involved in radical activities in Rehoboth and Swansea. One of the important names connected with the LDS Church was Rehoboth resident Joseph Peck, ancestor of Polly Peck and other LDS Pecks. Large numbers of other early converts were also

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73. LDS converts are shown in parentheses: Samuell Gorton (Lydia Ackerman, Celinda Ackerman, Lebbeus Thaddeus Coons, Sr.); John Greene, Sr. (John P. Greene, Anson Pratt, Parley Parker Pratt, Orson Pratt, William Dickinson Pratt, Maria Sagers, Reynolds Cahoon, William Farrington Cahoon, Maria Sagers, Anson Call, and Cyril Call); Randall Holden (Anna Knight, Esther Knight, Hyruna Knight, Joseph Knight, Newell Knight, Polly Knight, Vinson Knight, Ezekiel Peck, Hezekiah Peck, Polly Peck, Sally Ann Peck, Nancy F. Peck, Ann Eliza Peck, Martin Horton, Clarissa Reed, John Reed); Richard Waterman (Lucina Streeter); John Warner (Micah B. Welton, Lillis Ballau, Alfred Fisk, Hulda Fisk, Ira Fisk, Rhoda Risk, and Russell W. Fisk); William Wardell (William Walker Rust).

74. Isaac Backus, *A History of New England with Particular Reference to the Baptists*, vol. 1 (1871; repr. New York: Arno Press and the *New York Times*, 1969), 126.

75. Richard Lebaron Bowen, *Early Rehoboth*, vol. 1 (Rehoboth: Rumford Press, 1945), 29.

connected with the town. In fact, 326 sixth-generation progenitors were born in Rehoboth and seventy-seven in the little village of Swansea. This is remarkable because the actual population of Rehoboth was certainly no more than 250.[76] Of course, it is impossible for 326 individuals to reside in a town of 250, but we can account for most of this difficulty in that only 117 unique names are found. For example, John Garnsey and Elizabeth Titus are each progenitors of eleven LDS converts; Mary Sly and Sarah Smith are each progenitors of ten converts.

In the 1640s, the Anabaptist zeal was increased by the infusion of missionaries from England, the most prominent being Mark Lucar, who arrived in Newport around 1648. He brought with him not only the new baptism by "dipping," but also the basic principles of so-called Particular Anabaptists, who believed that Christ's atonement was "particular" or individual in that it pertained only to the "elect." So-called General Anabaptists believed that the atonement was universal in nature.[77]

Gardner estimates that in 1650 there were sixty Anabaptist members in Rhode Island, while there were only eleven members in Massachusetts.[78] The connection of early LDS converts with the early Rhode Island Anabaptists is substantial. Among the eleven associates of Roger Williams in Providence, eight are direct-line ancestors of many converts.[79] One of these Anabaptist progenitors was Obadiah Holmes, who had experienced a profound spiritual awakening while living in England. Holmes accompanied John Clarke, Sr. and John Crandall to Massachusetts in 1651 on a religious mission, where they were apprehended, jailed, tried, and fined. Holmes was severely beaten as well. John Clarke had no family issue, but John Crandall was the progenitor of several converts. Stuckely Westcott, another progenitor, had been censured by the Salem congregation for telling them theirs was not the "true church."[80] He then removed to Portsmouth, Rhode Island, where his family committed itself to Anabaptism.

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76. Ibid., 18.

77. Leon H. McBeth, *The Baptist Heritage* (Nashville: Broadman, 1987).

78. Robert G. Gardner, *Baptists of Early America: A Statistical History, 1639-1790* (Atlanta: Georgia Baptist Historical Society, 1983), 34.

79. Early LDS converts are shown in parentheses: Roger Williams (Eliazer Miller and Catherine Slauson); John Crandall (Celinda and Lydia Ackermann, Lebbeus T. Coons, Sr., David Crandall, Sanford Porter, and Louisa Tanner); Obadiah Holmes (Rhoda Fisk, Rhonda Fisk, Ira Fisk, Alfred Fisk, Huldah Louisa Fisk, Russell W. Fisk, Sterry Fisk, Martin Horton Peck, Hezekiah Peck, Ann Eliza Peck, Nancy Peck, Sally Ann Peck, Catherine Slauson, Cynthia Elizabeth Soule, Erastus Wightman, Benjamin Freeman Bird, Alpheus Gifford, and Keziah Pearce).

80. Oliver Payson Fuller, *The History of Warwick* (Providence: Angeli, Burlingame & Co., 1875). Progenitors are: Stukely Westcott (Catharine Slauson and Erastus Wightman); William Clarke (Emer, Martin and Preserved Harris); and Thomas Clarke (Anson Pratt, Orson Pratt, Parley Parker Pratt, and William Dickinson Pratt).

The Massachusetts Anabaptists were far fewer in number than the Rhode Island Anabaptists, and the identities of the most early members are unknown, although some known Anabaptists have connections to early LDS converts.[81] There is some record of mid-seventeenth-century Anabaptist influence in New Hampshire, mainly through the influence of Hanserd Knollys, a notable English radical who spent a few years in the colonies. Knollys was an ordained minister in England, but he renounced his ordination in the early 1630s because he did not feel he had received a clear call and commission from Christ to do the work. He then sought counsel from John Wheelwright and, following several discussions and a period of time in seclusion, Knollys declared he had experienced a profound spiritual manifestation which filled his "soul with joy and peace in believing" so that he again commenced his work, but with a conviction of Antinomian doctrines of salvation and Anabaptist principles.[82] Met with much oppression, he left England and eventually served as minister of Dover, New Hampshire. Undoubtedly, members of his congregation were receptive to his heresies, including some of the earliest settlers, namely, Thomas Roberts and William and Edward Hilton who had arrived in 1623. In fact, Roberts eventually became a Quaker.[83]

While Anabaptist impulses had already manifested themselves as an outgrowth of the Antinomian crisis, the Quaker movement did not gain visibility until the 1650s. The Quaker movement originated about 1644 in Leicestershire, England, when a certain group of piously disposed people formed an association centered on George Fox. By the early 1650s, a full missionary effort was under way.[84] The message of George Fox was that Christian churches had departed from the primitive purity and simplicity, but the "day of the Lord was at hand." God was pouring his spirit upon the earth, and those touched by his spirit were to dedicate themselves to preaching his everlasting gospel to all of God's creatures. God "did not dwell in temples made with hands," but in individuals through "that inward light, spirit, and grace, by which all might know their salvation and their way to God." This inner light was available to every one of God's children, for "Christ had died for all men to profit rather than for the elect." In

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81. John George, for example, was baptized in 1665. He is the progenitor of Clarissa, John F., and Olive Boynton.

82. B. R. White, *Hanserd Knollys and Radical Dissent in the 17th Century* (London: Dr. Williams's Trust, 1977), 5-7; John N. McClintock, *History of New Hampshire* (Boston: B. B. Russell, Cornhill, 1888), 41.

83. John Scales, *History of Dover, New Hampshire* (Manchester, NH: John B. Clarke Co., 1900), 91. LDS converts are shown in parentheses: Roberts (David Cluff, Mary Thurston Rand, and Heber C. Kimball); William or Edward Tilton (Mary Thurston Rand).

84. James Bowden, *The History of the Society of Friends in America*, vol. 1 (New York: Arno Press, 1972), 29-30.

this respect, Fox argued a universalism that was akin to that of the General Baptists and the Mormons two hundred years later.[85] Followers gathered without liturgy or prearranged preachers, believing that the light of God would come in silence or that God would inspire those who speak with his inner light.

Worrall claims the number of Quakers in certain parts of northern New England grew faster than did the population in general.[86] Essex County, Massachusetts, was a hotbed of Quaker activity as well as certain settlements in New Hampshire and Maine. Stories abound regarding persecutions and whippings. Progenitors of certain LDS converts, such as the Wardells, are a good case in point. William Wardell was fined for entertaining a Quaker missionary,[87] while Eliakin Wardell's wife went naked into the Newbury Puritan meeting house to shame the Puritans for stripping women to the waist and whipping them through town. (In Dover, three Quaker women had been stripped to the waist, tied to the back of a horse-drawn cart and whipped with ten lashes as they passed through each township on their way to Boston.)[88] The Coffins, who later adopted Quakerism in Nantucket, were exposed to Quakers while they lived in New Hampshire. All these people are ancestors of Mary Thurston Rand, an early LDS convert.

By 1658 over thirty individuals in Salem were engaged in Quaker meetings. The Salem Quakers represented a wide range of social lines and occupational pursuits although the lower social ranges were more heavily represented.[89] Local authorities, wishing to quell the movement, dealt harshly with the Quaker missionaries circulating through New England. The primary strategy authorities used was to harass those involved although fines, imprisonments, and whippings were also common. In 1655 Massachusetts passed a law that anyone who "entertained" a Quaker would be fined. Early LDS progenitors Richard Swaine and John Heard were two of those so punished.[90] Other progenitors, such as William Marston in Hampton, New Hampshire, were apprehended and their dwellings searched to determine if they were harboring Quakers. Marston was once fined £20 for having two Quaker tracts in his home.[91]

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85. Melvin B. Endy, *William Penn and Early Quakerism* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1973), 55, 193.

86. Arthur J. Worrall, *Quakers in the Colonial Northeast* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1980), 71.

87. Ibid., 28.

88. Hamilton Hurd, *History of Rockingham and Strafford Counties, New Hampshire, with Biographical Sketches of Many of Its Pioneers and Prominent Men* (Philadelphia: J. W. Lewis and Co., 1882), 807-9.

89. Pestana, "Sectarianism in Colonial Massachusetts," 30-31.

90. Starbuck, 15-16.

91. Bowden, 153.

In 1658 persecution reached such an extreme point that Quakers were banished from the colony and informed they would suffer the pain of death if they returned. In 1659 a group of Salem, New Hampshire, and Maine Quakers converged on Boston and were arrested and imprisoned. The court took harsh action and executed the leaders, William Robinson and Marmaduke Stephenson, as well as Mary Dyer, the mother of the so-called monster child which Anne Marbury Hutchinson had helped deliver in 1637. (Dyer had converted to Quakerism after moving to Rhode Island and then to England.)[92] Such actions inspired more direct confrontation as well as active persecution. By 1670 there were fifty-seven Quakers in Salem. At least twenty-five of these were progenitors of early LDS converts, and almost all converts had multiple direct-line connections with them.[93]

Southeastern Massachusetts and Rhode Island also witnessed unusual Quaker growth. By the turn of the eighteenth century, it has been estimated that half the population of Rhode Island had declared themselves Quakers. We recall that large numbers of these were progenitors of LDS converts. Nantucket also played a significant role in Quaker history, and certain LDS converts traced their direct-line ancestors to many of its early settlers. During the summer of 1659 a number of people from Hampton, New Hampshire visited Nantucket as a possible place to settle and decided to organize a group to buy all rights and interest in the island. They included Tristram Coffin, Sr., Peter Coffin, Richard Swaine, John Swaine, Christopher Hussey, and Stephen Greenleaf.[94]

Radicalized Puritan Congregations

Several Puritan congregations were radicalized at the time because of events which occurred in their respective communities. Some of these congregations were radicalized in England and subsequently came to New England, while others were radicalized in New England itself. Certain of these congregations were central in the lives of many progenitors of early LDS converts, and, consistent with the general findings of this study, their

92. Dyer is a progenitor of William Wines Phelps.

93. LDS converts are shown in parentheses: Joseph Boyce (Polly Chubuck, Joshua Buffum, his wife, and daughter Cassandra, Elias Hutchings, and Lyman Curtis); William King and his wife (Mehitable Wells); John Marston (Laban Morrill); William Marston (Mary Thurston Rand); Samuel Shattuck and his wife (Josiah and Thomas Butterfield, David Nelson, as well as Polly, Archibald, Elizabeth, Ira J., John M., and David Wyman Patten); John Smith and his wife (Betsy Taylor Putnam and Vilate Stockwell); Lawrence Southwick and his wife as well as Daniel Southwick and his wife and John Southwick and his wife (Polly Chubuck); Lawrence Southwick and his wife (Elias Hutchins and Lyman Curtis); Henry Trask and his wife (Lyman Curtis).

94. LDS converts tracing their direct-line ancestors to one or more of these individuals include Samuel Jones Rolfe, Mary Thurston Rand, Lydia Chamberlain, and Dwight Harding.

stories were played out on the fringes of the New England colonies. We have already discussed the congregations at Plymouth and Barnstable, and now we will focus on the congregations of Stephen Bachiler and John Wheelwright.

While the main focus of migration of those expelled from Massachusetts was Rhode Island, New Hampshire and Maine were also recipients of Anabaptists, Antinomians, Quakers, freethinkers, and others.[95] Migrations to New Hampshire and Maine were confined to the Piscataqua River area along the coast and focused on four towns (Hampton, Exeter, Dover, and Portsmouth), as well as on a fifth town across the river from Portsmouth at Kittery, Maine. All these towns fell within a radius of ten miles, so the territory was confined to a small area. By 1639 approximately 1,000 English had settled there. Our discussion will focus on the settlements of Exeter and Hampton.

The most important religious immigration into Exeter was made by a congregation led by John Wheelwright, the brother-in-law of Anne Marbury Hutchinson. Wheelwright began service as a vicar in Belsby, England. After serving eight years, he was released because of his nonconformist views. Having no permanent appointment in the clerical profession, Wheelwright sailed to the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1636.

In Boston he was warmly received although he was sympathetic with his sister-in-law's views and held a conviction that anyone who knew God and his gospel had received that knowledge through the gift of the Holy Spirit. In his inaugural address at Boston, he discussed the nature of faith. Wheelwright explained that faith represents a union between the believer and the Holy Ghost. This proclamation brought adulation from those assembled although Governor John Winthrop stirred uneasily because he felt such claims had no scriptural footing.[96]

The Antinomian crisis had so infected all the churches of Massachusetts that the General Court proclaimed a fast to ease the tensions and injudiciously invited Wheelwright to deliver the sermon at the end of the fast. His remarks only further inflamed the crisis. He was subsequently tried for possessing "Antinomian and Familistic" beliefs, found guilty of "sedition and contempt," and punished with "disfranchisement and banishment."[97] In July 1638, Wheelwright and his banished friends arrived in New Hampshire, purchased land on the banks of the Swamscot River, and settled the town of Exeter. The town contract was signed by thirty-four heads of households, including many progenitors of LDS converts.[98]

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95. McClintock, 49.

96. Battis, 114.

97. Hurd, 244.

98. Everett S. Stackpole, *History of New Hampshire*, vol. 1 (New York: American Historical Society, 1945), 44. LDS converts are shown in parentheses: John Wheelwright (Olive Lowell);

The settlement at Hampton dates back to 1638, when Reverend Steven Bachiler and a group of followers settled the area. Bachiler was already elderly, aged seventy-one, when in 1632 he arrived with his family in America. He had been a minister in England, but was inclined toward Familism. In 1604 he had been "ejected" as vicar and excommunicated from the church.[99] Many of his parishioners followed him when he fled to Holland. After a number of years, they came to Massachusetts and settled in Lynn, Essex County, but his independent spirit created difficulties with the church, so in 1636 he and his followers moved to Ipswich. Finding further difficulty, they moved the next winter to Yarmouth and again after one year to Newbury.[100] The congregation was growing increasingly restless about their conflicts with other Puritans, so in 1638 approximately fifty-six followers settled outside the boundaries of the colony, in Hampton, New Hampshire.[101] Bachiler was Hampton's first minister and is said to have given the town its name.

At least twenty LDS converts have progenitors who settled in Hampton with Bachiler.[102] During the next summer a number of others joined the settlement, including Robert Page Jr., John Philbrick, William Marston, and William Parker, all of whom have multiple direct-line ancestry with LDS converts.

Summary

In this paper I have asserted that the progenitors of early LDS converts possessed a radical spiritual heritage, and this spiritual orientation was

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Thomas Wight (Newell Knight, Hyruya Nahaum Knight, Esther Knight, Anna Knight, Joseph Knight Sr. and Jr., Polly Knight, Vinson Knight, Thomas Baldwin Marsh, Ann Marsh, Esther Peck, Ezekiel Peck, Hezekiah Peck); William Wentworth (Andrew Lee Allen, Hjuldah Chapman, Elezer Freeman Nickerson, Freeman Nickerson, Levi Stillman Nickerson, Uriel Chittendon Nickerson, Moses Chapman Nickerson); Samuell Walker (Amanda Melissa Barnes, William Walker Rust); Darby Field (Mary Thurston Rand, Lydia Smith, Sarah York); Edmond Littlefield (Aaron Cheney, Amasa F. Cheney, Olive M. Cheney, Selah Cheney, Lydia Clisbee, and Waldo Littlefield); John Cram (Lydia Chamberlain); William Wardell (William Walker Rust, Edmund Durfee, James Durfee); Robert Smith (Andrew Lee Allen, Sarah York).

99. Victor C. Sanborn, "Stephen Bachiler: An Unforgiven Puritan." (paper prepared for the New Hampshire Historical Society, 1917); Philip Mason Marston, "The Reverend Stephen Bachiler: Saint or Sinner?" (published privately by the Society of Colonial Wars in the State of New Hampshire, 1961).

100. Charles E. Batchelder, "Rev. Stephen Bachiler, Puritan Emigrant," in Frederick Clifton Pierce, ed., *Descendants of Rev. Stephen Bachiler, of England, A Leading Non-Conformist, Who Settled the Town of New Hampton, N.H. and Joseph, Henry, Joshua and John Batcheller of Essex Co., Massachusetts* (Chicago, Ill.: W. B. Conkey Co., 1898).

101. Joseph Dow, *History of the Town of Hampton: From Its First Settlement in 1638 to the Autumn of 1892* (Hampton, N.H.: Peter E. Randall, 1889), 8.

102. LDS converts are shown in parentheses: Bachiler (Heber C. Kimball, Thomas Jefferson Butterfield, Josiah Butterfield, Mary Thurston Rand); John Browne (Thomas Gates, Sr., and Jr.,

strong enough to manifest itself through several generations. The specific spiritual orientation emphasized here is the belief that one can gain a personal knowledge of God, possess a spark of the divine, and be able to exercise gifts of the Spirit; that the gospel of Jesus Christ would be restored; and that his children are a covenant people who would live within a theocracy.

The basic data of this study came from an analysis of the direct-line ancestral files of 583 Latter-day Saints who converted to the church prior to 1835. I have confirmed that almost all these converts come directly from New England and that their families had lived in New England for several generations. In fact, almost all identified sixth-generation progenitors (10,492) of these 583 converts were either born in New England or emigrated to America. These progenitors represent at least one-fifth of all the individuals living in colonial New England in the mid-1600s.

Various degrees of religious radicalism were found in New England: The Puritans were the least radical, while the Radical Spiritualists were more radical than either the Puritans or the Separatists. All the religious orientations in early colonial New England were represented among the LDS progenitors; however, we did not find a proportionate distribution among them. We found that Massachusetts, which was dominated by Puritans, was dramatically under-represented, with less than half the progenitors located there, while almost two-thirds of the population was centered in that area. In addition, few progenitors were found in Suffolk County and Boston, the center of Puritanism. Rather, those in Massachusetts professing Puritan beliefs were more likely to reside in a limited number of towns and religious communities in the marginal areas of Massachusetts, particularly

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Lucinda Gates, Jacob Gates, Jabez Brunson, Seymour Brunson); Robert Pucke/Tucke (Mary Thurston Rand, Daniel Sanborn Miles, Lydia Smith, Sarah York); Thomas Jones (Levi Ward Senior Hancock, Clarissa Hancock, Thomas Hancock, Jr., Soloman Hancock); Robert Saunderson (Cyril Call and Anson Call); James Davis (Edson Barney, Royal Barney, Philania Barney, Asa Lyman); Richard Swaine/Swain/Swan (Samuel Brown, Lydia Chamberlain, Mary Thurston Rand, Sarah York); Abraham Perkins (Mary Thurston Rand); Francis Peabody (Benjamin Kimball Hall, Levi Hall, Brigham Young, Eunice Clark Young, Joseph Young, Lorenzo Dow Young, Nancy Young, Rhoda Young, Fanny Young, John M. Young, Susannah Young, Phinehas Howe Young, and Louisa Young); John Higgins (Andrew Lee Allen, Alpheus Amulek Harmon, Oliver Harmon, Cilia Kent, Sarah King); Thomas Moulton (Samuel Brown, Mary Arey); John Moulton (Heman Tilton Hyde, Mary Thurston Rand, Aaron Cheney, Amasa F. Cheney, Olive M. Cheney, Selah Cheney, William Walker Rust); Miriam Moulton (Thomas Jefferson Butterfield); William Palmer (Jonathan Harriman Hale); Issac Perkins (Daniel Sanborn Miles, Mary Thurston Rand); William Fifield (Mary Thurston Rand, Lydia Smith, Sarah York); Moses Cox (Mary Thurston Rand, Andrew Lee Allen); Daniel Hendrick (Heber C. Kimball); Thomas Chase (Hyruna Knight, Nahamu Knight, Esther Knight, Newell Knight, Anna Knight, Joseph Knight, Sr., and Jr., Polly Knight, Aaron Slade, Ann Slade, Benjamin Slade, and Clark Slade); John Cross (Benjamin Andrew); William Sargent (John Boynton, Eliphalet Boynton, Clarissa Boynton, and Laban Morrill).

Essex County. Large numbers of progenitors also resided in a few towns of Connecticut/New Haven where the Puritans resembled Separatists.

In contrast, we found that Separatists and Radical Spiritualists were substantially *over*-represented among the progenitors. Almost two-thirds of Plymouth Colony were progenitors of LDS converts in our study. Such religious radicals as Roger Williams, Anne Marbury Hutchinson, Samuel Gorton, John Wheelwright, Stephen Bachiler, and Hanserd Knollys and their followers played a significant role in the family histories of early LDS converts. Radical religious groups, such as the Antinomians, Familists, Quakers, Anabaptists, and Gortonists were central to the lives of many ancestors of LDS converts. Indeed, a substantial proportion of progenitors is associated with higher levels of religious radicalism.

The basic assumption of this study is that those who joined the Mormon church in its first years, as well as their progenitors, shared radical, spiritual experiences. While the sixth-generation progenitors of early LDS converts manifested these shared experiences, I have not traced these connections through the fifth, fourth, third or second generations.

Some scholars maintain that the eighteenth century was more important in shaping religion in America than was the seventeenth century. Jon Butler, for example, urges us to abandon the notion that Puritanism was the crucial force shaping the so-called "American religion."[103] His argument suggests that those radical religious forces of early colonial America may have been lost by the time the LDS church was established in 1830. Narrowly speaking, this appears to have been the case because Puritanism, Separatism and other forms of colonial radicalism were lost as social forces in the second half of the colonial period.[104] However, the successive generations of LDS progenitors tended to remain in New England until the nineteenth century, and it is not only possible but probable that elements of this radicalism persisted in individual families and towns for several generations and influenced the choices people made when they decided to join a church which declared that its similar spiritual beliefs were central to the "restored" gospel of Jesus Christ.

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103. Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), 2-3.

104. See, for example, Bushman, *From Puritan to Yankee.*

Winter Dies

N. Andrew Spackman

The full third moon of passing
winter rears up
against an x-ray white orchard.
There are tree skeletons.
And puddles like black eye sockets.

My naked feet sink in snow.
They break through
the crust like a skull.
Underneath, mud swallows my toes.
Bruised eyes open where I step.

Reflections on the Documentary Hypothesis

Kevin L. Barney

THE EDITORS OF *DIALOGUE* have invited me to respond to Thomas Dozeman's article, "The Authorship of the Pentateuch," which appeared in the previous issue.[1] The development of the Documentary Hypothesis is a fascinating chapter in intellectual history from the pre-critical observations of certain rabbis and philosophers concerning anomalies in the text to the rigorous studies of modern Bible scholars over the last several centuries. From the time of Wellhausen[2] in the latter part of the 19th century to the present at the tail end of the 20th century, the Documentary Hypothesis (or some form thereof) has been the dominant scholarly view of Pentateuchal origins. As the Mormon encounter with the Documentary Hypothesis has for all practical purposes been a 20th-century experience, it seems proper at the end of the century to reflect on where we have been and where we might go with respect to the issue of Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch.

While Dozeman's essay does not directly address Mormon literature or uniquely Mormon concerns, it nevertheless provides an essential grounding in the basic development of the Documentary Hypothesis and the reasons underlying its wide acceptance. Dozeman explains these matters

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1. Thomas B. Dozeman, "The Authorship of the Pentateuch," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 32, no. 4 (Winter 1999): 87-112.

2. For his most influential work, see Julius Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* (originally 1883; reprinted with an English translation by Menzies and Black as *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel* [New York: Meridian Books, 1957]), which Dozeman cites on 97 n44. Dozeman is careful not to heap too much credit on Wellhausen, for while his influence is unquestioned, little of what he did was truly original. Rather, he synthesized the work of prior scholars, such as Karl H. Graf, *Die geschichtlichen Bücher des AT: Zwei historisch-kritische Untersuchungen* (1865). I will occasionally refer to the classic formulation of the theory by Wellhausen as the "Graf-Wellhausen Hypothesis." I intend the expression "Documentary Hypothesis" to be somewhat broader, including variations from the classical Graf-Wellhausen Hypothesis scholars have introduced over the last century.

about as clearly as it is possible to do in a concise article meant for a general readership. To refresh the reader's recollection, according to the Graf-Wellhausen Hypothesis in its classic form, the Pentateuch derives from four documentary sources (thus, the alternate name "Documentary Hypothesis"): (1) a Yahwist (J) source, written in the south (Judah) in early monarchial times, (2) an Elohist (E) source, written in the north (Israel) somewhat later (these two sources being combined at some point, a combination referred to as JE), (3) a Deuteronomic (D) source, understood as the book of the law found in the temple during the Josianic reforms in 621 B.C.E., and (4) a Priestly (P) source, which was originally thought to be post-Exilic. These four sources were then combined by a Redactor (R) to form the Pentateuch in the form we know it today. In the discussion that follows, I will assume that the reader has first read Dozeman and is, therefore, familiar with the theory and its development. This will free me to concentrate on the Mormon side of the issue. I will begin by briefly reviewing the spectrum of Mormon reactions to the hypothesis over the past century. The remainder of the paper will then articulate some of my own reflections concerning the theory. I will explore what is at stake in terms of faith commitments if one does accept the theory. I will share some reservations I feel over accepting the hypothesis, as well as some reasons one might legitimately reject it. Next I will explain why I tentatively accept the theory. And finally I will illustrate the critical use of the theory in a faithful exploration of Mormon scripture.

Overview of LDS Reactions

The ground work for a review of where we have come with respect to the Documentary Hypothesis has been laid by a chapter entitled "The Mormon Response to Higher Criticism" in Philip Barlow's book *Mormons and the Bible*.[3] Barlow observes that the Latter-day Saints had (and continue to have) within their tradition the resources to respond either positively or negatively to the scholarship that gave rise to the Documentary Hypothesis. On the one hand, Joseph Smith clearly recognized the Bible's limitations; rather than assume biblical inerrancy, he experimented liberally with scripture. Brigham Young, although he repeatedly asserted his biblical allegiance, emphasized the circumstantial and progressive nature of revelation, dismissing parts of the Bible as fables or "baby stories," and noting that, in writing of the creation, Moses adapted the traditions he had inherited from the fathers. On the other hand, the Mormons had brought with them a legacy of biblical literalism from Protestantism, which was often reinforced by modern scripture.[4]

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3. Philip L. Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible: The Place of the Latter-day Saints in American Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 103-147.

4. Ibid., 109-10.

Focusing on the first half of the 20th century, Barlow sees a spectrum of responses to higher criticism flowing from these Mormon attitudes toward scripture. On the left, represented by William H. Chamberlin, is enthusiastic acceptance. On the right, represented by Joseph Fielding Smith, is a rejection in the strongest terms of the whole scholarly critical enterprise. And in the middle, represented by B. H. Roberts, is an acceptance in principle of the scholarly critical enterprise, but combined with a rejection of many of its results in this particular case. Represented graphically:

Mormon Responses to Higher Criticism (first half of 20th century)

Liberal	*Centrist*	*Conservative*
William H. Chamberlin	B. H. Roberts	Joseph Fielding Smith

Of course, we must be cautious in applying this sketch of early 20th century Mormon reactions to something generally referred to as "higher criticism" specifically to the Documentary Hypothesis itself. J. G. Eichorn coined the expression "higher criticism" in order to distinguish broad literary-historical criticism from narrow textual or "lower" criticism, which is devoted to the study of variant textual readings. A less appealing name than "higher criticism" could scarcely have been coined if one had tried. The modifier "higher" suggests an immodest haughtiness, and the noun "criticism" suggests an inherently negative, destructive critique of traditional views.[5] Therefore, "higher criticism" became a convenient (if generic) rhetorical whipping boy over many an early 20th-century pulpit. Further, while the Documentary Hypothesis was no doubt the first fruits of higher criticism, higher criticism has had a much broader reach than that theory alone. These cautions notwithstanding, Barlow's study of early 20th-century Mormon responses to higher criticism provides a useful framework for our own review of 20th-century Mormon attitudes towards the Documentary Hypothesis.

The usual *terminus a quo* for any consideration of the Mormon encounter with higher criticism is William H. Chamberlin and the 1911 evolution crisis at BYU.[6] After a modest early education, Chamberlin graduated

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5. Cf. ibid., 124. When the Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies (FARMS) published a three-volume "critical text" of the Book of Mormon (*Book of Mormon Critical Text: A Tool for Scholarly Reference* [FARMS, 1986]), meaning a text that reports variant readings in different manuscripts and editions, the wire services duly reported that FARMS had published a "text critical of" the Book of Mormon. While scholars are accustomed to using the word "criticism" as referring to the exercise of careful judgment and judicious evaluation in analyzing works of art or literature, to the lay person the word has an inherently negative and, therefore, antagonistic tone.

6. See ibid., 129-34; Richard Sherlock, "Campus in Crisis: BYU: 1911," *Sunstone* 4 (January/February 1979): 10-16; and Gary James Bergera and Ronald Priddis, *Brigham Young University: A House of Faith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1985), 134-71. Although there were

in science from the University of Utah, obtained a master's degree in philosophy from the University of California, studied ancient languages and biblical criticism at the University of Chicago, and spent two years pursuing a Ph.D. in philosophy at Harvard until he was compelled to suspend his studies there due to poor health. Chamberlin followed his brother Ralph to a teaching job at BYU; while there, he included in his teaching higher criticism of the Bible. In 1911 Ralph Chamberlin and Joseph and Henry Peterson left the university under duress, primarily for teaching evolution, but secondarily for accepting and teaching higher critical theories of the origins of the Bible (presumably including the Graf-Wellhausen Hypothesis). William continued at BYU for a few years longer, but eventually he also was effectively forced to resign. Although Chamberlin did not really publish on the subject, the influence of his teaching was substantial and lasting. For example, E. E. Erickson was profoundly influenced by Chamberlin, and Sterling McMurrin in turn was profoundly influenced by both Chamberlin and Erickson.[7]

A second example of a Mormon educator who embraced the Documentary Hypothesis is Heber C. Snell. Snell, who had been a student at BYU during the difficulties of 1911, received a Ph.D. at the University of Chicago Divinity School in 1932 and taught at the Institute of Religion in Logan. His book *Ancient Israel: Its Story and Meaning* assumes the Documentary Hypothesis to be correct.[8] The book was originally commissioned to be published by the church for use by LDS college students, but Joseph Fielding Smith led a successful campaign to prevent church publication of the book.[9]

Joseph Fielding Smith represented the opposite side of the spectrum from Chamberlin and Snell. Smith was a long-time apostle (serving in that capacity since 1910), church historian, and respected scriptorian, who eventually became president of the church a couple of years before his death in 1972. As a scriptorian, Smith was very much a literalist. Although he un-

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some earlier statements relating to the theory made by George Reynolds and others, because of its notoriety and influence, the 1911 evolution crisis at BYU represents a convenient starting point.

7. Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible*, 139. Others influenced by Chamberlin included Carl F. Eyring, Wilford Poulsen, Hugh H. Woodward, Thomas L. Martin, William J. Snow, B. F. Larson, Vasco M. Tanner and Russell Swensen (ibid., 140 n87). For Chamberlin's influence on Erickson, see E. E. Erickson, "William H. Chamberlin: Pioneer Utah Philosopher," *Western Humanities Review* 8 (1954): 4. For a summary of his philosophy, see James M. McLachlan, "W. H. Chamberlin and the Quest for a Mormon Theology," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 29, no. 4 (Winter 1996): 151-67.

8. Heber C. Snell, *Ancient Israel: Its Story and Meaning* (Salt Lake City: Stevens & Wallis, 1948); see especially p. 5 at the outset of chapter two ("The Genesis Story of Beginnings") where Snell gives a matter-of-fact description of the Graf-Wellhausen Hypothesis, describing it as "the best available information."

9. Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible*, 140-41, and Richard Sherlock, "Faith and History: The Snell Controversy," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 12, no. 1 (Spring 1979): 27-41.

derstood the basics of the Documentary Hypothesis, he viewed not only that theory, but all higher critical endeavors as essentially evil, as a conspiracy "launched on the part of certain scholars to tear asunder and destroy the authenticity of the holy scriptures."[10]

Representing the middle ground was B. H. Roberts, who was widely considered to be the church's leading intellectual in the first part of the century. As Barlow puts it, "Roberts believed that revealed truths must be reconciled with facts demonstrated by science and other means."[11] Roberts famously wrote that:

> the methods of higher criticism are legitimate, that is to say, it is right to consider the various books of the scriptures . . . as a body of literature, and to examine them internally, and go into the circumstances under which they were written, and the time at which they were written, and the purpose for which they were written.[12]

While Roberts was sympathetic to the methods of higher criticism, he often disagreed with the results obtained by the higher critics. He rejected the Graf-Wellhausen Hypothesis, but not completely. In Roberts's view, Moses wrote the Pentateuch, but he may have used preexisting sources, and Ezra or Nehemiah may have edited his work to make it more intelligible to post-Exilic Jews.[13]

A second example from the middle of the spectrum is Sidney B. Sperry, who received his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago Divinity School in 1931[14] and had a long career at BYU as an Old Testament scholar. Sperry consistently insisted on the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. [15] As Sperry was more dogmatic and less nuanced on this point than Roberts, Barlow sees him as perhaps a half step to the right of Roberts, yet insists that both occupy the middle ground, as the center of the spectrum had shifted to the right since Roberts's day.[16]

As we now update Barlow's analysis of the Mormon reaction to higher criticism in the first half of the 20th century to include the second half as well (focusing on reactions to the Documentary Hypothesis in particular and not necessarily on those to higher criticism in general), to my perception the spectrum has broadened somewhat. I have attempted in the fol-

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10. Joseph Fielding Smith, *Man: His Origin and Destiny* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1954), 490, quoted in Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible*, 125.

11. Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible*, 113-14.

12. B. H. Roberts, "Higher Criticism and the Book of Mormon," *Improvement Era* 14 (June 1911): 667-68.

13. Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible*, 117.

14. See Russell Swensen, "Mormons at the University of Chicago Divinity School," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 7, no. 2 (Summer 1972): 34-47.

15. Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible*, 142.

16. Ibid., 143.

lowing table to represent graphically my perception of Mormon reactions to the Documentary Hypothesis over the 20th century:

Mormon Responses to the Documentary Hypothesis (20th century)

Scholarly				Traditional	
Secularist			Supernaturalist		
Liberal		Centrist		Conservative	
1	2	3	4	5	6
David P. Wright	William H. Chamberlin	John A. Widtsoe	B. H. Roberts	[majority]	Joseph Fielding Smith
Anthony Hutchinson	Heber C. Snell	John L. Sorenson	Sidney B. Sperry		J. Reuben Clark, Jr.
Keith Norman		S. Kent Brown	George Reynolds		Bruce R. McConkie
William Russell		Robert F. Smith	Janne M. Sjodahl		Mark E. Peterson
Melodie Moench Charles		Scott Kenney	J. E. Homans		
O. Kendall White, Jr.		Alan Goff	A. A. Ramseyer		
		Bruce Pritchett	Hugh Nibley		
		Kevin L. Barney	Anonymous (*Sunstone*)		
			Kevin Christensen		

By splitting each of Barlow's original three categories into two subcategories, we can better visualize the full breadth of the spectrum.[17]

The early liberal position, which I view (perhaps because of its original pairing with evolution) as in large measure a simple embrace of the progress of modern science, is represented by category 2. While I believe, based on internet postings I have seen, that there continue to be 2s around, in the second half of the century, most of those articulating the liberal position seem to have moved a half step further to the left. The particular distinction I see is a greater willingness to follow higher criticism no matter where it leads, including the rejection of historically based faith claims. This more recent liberal position I have designated category 1.

17. This categorization is subject to the following limitations: (a) it is meant to be illustrative, not exhaustive; (b) although I have used names as a shorthand, in the case of those still living it is meant to categorize publications rather than individuals (certainly on an issue like this people can and do change their positions over time); and (c) there remain variations in belief and approach within each broad category. I apologize if any of the individuals named feel that I have miscategorized his or her writings; the categorization is, of course, very subjective and represents my own reaction to the writings I reviewed.

Illustrative of category 1 is an essay by David P. Wright entitled "Historical Criticism: A Necessary Element in the Search for Religious Truth."[18] Wright describes traditionalist and critical modes of studying the scriptures, and he recounts his own conversion from the former to the latter. Although he does not use the Documentary Hypothesis as a principal example in this, he does mention it in passing and makes it clear he accepts it.[19] The critical methodology he accepts leads him to reject the historicity of the Book of Mormon as an ancient document.[20] This willingness to abandon historically based faith claims is the distinguishing characteristic of my category 1. In place of those faith claims he rejects, he articulates a "post-critical apologetic" that allows him to maintain a connection with his LDS religious tradition.

Wright's views were later critiqued by William J. Hamblin, who argued that Wright's dichotomy between traditionalist and critical modes was a false one.[21] The real dichotomy, according to Hamblin, is between secularist and supernaturalist paradigms (a suggestion I have reflected graphically in the table above). Wright, in his response,[22] pointed out that many faithful LDS scholars in the supernaturalist camp nevertheless show certain secularist tendencies; he asks where the line is to be drawn for these scholars between the secular and the supernatural, which strikes me as a fair question to ask and a difficult one to answer. On the other hand, it seems to me that Wright never successfully responds to Hamblin's observation that Wright's methodology would seem of necessity to entail the rejection not only of the reality of the First Vision and the historicity of the Book of Mormon, but also of the divine sonship of Jesus Christ and his physical resurrection. Although this thought provoking debate is chiefly over methodological issues, it provides important background for a consideration of an issue such as the Documentary Hypothesis.[23]

A second illustration from category 1 is provided by the writings of

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18. In *Sunstone* 16, no. 2 (September 1992): 28-38.18.

19. ibid., 34n54, he offers basic bibliography on the point.

20. See Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible*, 141n91-42.

21. William J. Hamblin, "The Final Step," *Sunstone* 16, no. 5 (July 1993): 11-12.

22. David P. Wright, "The Continuing Journey," *Sunstone* 16, no.5 (July 1993): 12-14.

23. The same issue of *Sunstone* that contained the Hamblin-Wright debate had a couple of letters to the editor responding to Wright's original essay. Michael Rayback (8), writing as a social conservative who had undergone his own conversion to an historical critical orientation, praised Wright's article. The well known Judaica scholar Jacob Neusner (7-8) expressed surprise that Wright's piece had not engaged the vast literature devoted to the problem that concerned him and judged his article to be naive. An additional critique of Wright is found in John Gee, "La Trahison des Clercs: On the Language and Translation of the Book of Mormon," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon* 6, no. 1 (1994): 51-120, esp. 59-64. Kevin Christensen also wrote a response to Wright; I consider his article separately under my discussion of category 4 below.

Anthony Hutchinson. In his "LDS Approaches to the Holy Bible,"[24] he articulates a typology of various approaches of LDS scholars to the Bible.[25] Although he does not directly address the Documentary Hypothesis in this paper, he makes it clear that he favors his Group IV, which he characterizes as "Critical Historical and Philological Hermeneutic." Those in this category would tend to be those most open to an acceptance of the Documentary Hypothesis.[26]

In a later article, "A Mormon Midrash? LDS Creation Narratives Reconsidered,"[27] Hutchinson gives extensive attention to the Documentary Hypothesis. Hutchinson analyzes the creation narratives in the King James Version (KJV), the Book of Moses, the Joseph Smith Translation (JST), the Book of Abraham, and the temple endowment, seeing the accounts deriving from Joseph Smith as products of a process of midrashic embellishment of the KJV. In the first half of this article, Hutchinson has frequent occasion to refer to and use the Documentary Hypothesis. He describes different understandings of God in the JEP traditions (13), the possibility of "pious fraud," as suggested by de Wette and Wellhausen in connection with the discovery of the book of the law (D) in the temple (17), basic sources for further study of the Documentary Hypothesis together with a rejection of the findings of the Genesis Project based on statistical linguistics (19), a description of the Priestly account of the creation (21-24), and a description of the Yahwist account of the creation (24-30). Finally, he uses the Documentary Hypothesis as a critical tool in analyzing Joseph Smith's treatment of the "P-J seam" in Genesis 2:1-9 (31-41). We shall return to the issue of statistical linguistics

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24. *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15, no. 1 (Spring 1982): 99-124.

25. His four categories, together with representative examples, are as follows: Group I, Harmonizing Hermeneutic (Joseph Fielding Smith, Bruce R. McConkie, W. Cleon Skousen, Glenn L. Pearson, Monte S. Nyman, Mark E. Peterson, and D. S. Crowther); Group II, Critically Modified Harmonizing Hermeneutic (B. H. Roberts, James Talmage, Sidney Sperry, J. Reuben Clark, Jr., Robert J. Matthews, Keith Meservy, Gerald Lund, and Ellis Rasmussen); Group III, Critical Hermeneutic with Corrective Tendencies (Hugh W. Nibley, C. Wilfred Griggs, Thomas W. Mackay, S. Kent Brown, Richard L. Anderson, and Benjamin Urrutia); and Group IV, Critical Hermeneutic (William H. Chamberlin, Ephraim E. Ericksen, Heber C. Snell, Russell Swensen, Sterling McMurrin, John Sorenson, Lowell Bennion, Scott Kenney, Melodie Moench Charles, Richard Sherlock, Michael T. Walton, Edward Ashment, and Keith Norman).

26. My 6-category scheme above is in some sense inspired by Hutchinson's typology. Hutchinson's general typology relates to my more specific groupings with respect to attitudes towards the Documentary Hypothesis as follows:

Hutchinson Group No.	Barney Category No.
I	6, 5
II	5, 4
III	4, 3
IV	2, 1

27. *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 21, no. 4 (Winter 1988): 11-74.

later in this article. For present purposes, it is sufficient to show that this is an LDS writer who understands and accepts the Documentary Hypothesis and uses it as a critical tool in seeking to understand LDS scripture.[28]

In the midst of a commentary on the mythopoeic elements of the Genesis creation accounts, Keith Norman also gives an introduction to source criticism and uses it as a critical tool in his analysis.[29] Like Hutchinson, Norman explains the differences between the P and J accounts of the creation in the opening chapters of Genesis, showing how the KJV obscures the P-J seam at Genesis 2:4. Norman also points out that, although the traditional ascription of the Pentateuch to Moses is no longer tenable among scholars, much of the oral, if not written, tradition used by the later authors can be traced back to Moses' time or even earlier (85). Norman then goes on to compare the mythic elements of Genesis with earlier myths from Mesopotamia, Babylon, Egypt, and Canaan.

RLDS scholar William D. Russell's essay entitled "Beyond Literalism"[30] is essentially a brief arguing for a greater attention to critical scholarship in both the LDS and RLDS traditions. Russell has occasion to mention the differences between P and J in Genesis 1-2 (45) as well as the views of Snell, Chamberlin, and Sperry towards higher criticism (48-49).[31]

The antipathy of the right side of the scale toward higher criticism and the Documentary Hypothesis is well known and may be illustrated by the fact that in his *Mormon Doctrine*, Bruce R. McConkie cross-referenced

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28. Like Wright, based on his critical approach to scripture, Hutchinson argues that the Book of Mormon, while scripture indeed, should no longer be considered by Latter-day Saints to have an historical basis among ancient peoples of the Americas. See Anthony A. Hutchinson, "The Word of God is Enough: The Book of Mormon as Nineteenth-Century Scripture," in Brent Lee Metcalfe, ed., *New Approaches to the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1993), 1-19. While I agree with much that Hutchinson has to say in his earlier articles, I do not follow him here. This perhaps reflects my own world view as belonging to Group III on his typology, while he belongs to Group IV. For me, the probing questions raised by John W. Welch, "Approaching New Approaches," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon* 6, no. 1 (1994): 145-86, in a section entitled "Postscript: Questioning the Ahistorical Approach" (181-86), have the greater resonance.

29. Keith E. Norman, "Adam's Navel," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 21, no. 2 (Summer 1988): 81-97.

30. William D. Russell, "Beyond Literalism," in Dan Vogel, ed., *The Word of God: Essays on Mormon Scripture* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1990), 43-54. This essay originally appeared in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 19, no. 2 (Summer 1986): 57-68.

31. O. Kendall White, Jr., in "The Church and the Community: Personal Reflections on Mormon Intellectual Life," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 28, no. 2 (Summer 1995): 84-91, tells a story of teaching a college-age Sunday School class about "higher" and "lower" biblical criticism. Although he was specifically addressing New Testament criticism at the time, one gets the strong impression that he similarly embraces the Documentary Hypothesis. I have somewhat speculatively included him on the table above, based on this article.

"Higher Criticism" to "Apostasy."[32] This is category 6, which is characterized by a very strong rejection not only of the Documentary Hypothesis itself, but of critical scholarship in general. In contrast, category 5 represents those who do not affirmatively reject the Documentary Hypothesis, but simply are ignorant of it. Rather than listing names for this category, I have simply indicated that it is the category under which the vast majority of the Saints would fall.[33] In order to confirm the predominance of category 5 in the church, I took an informal poll in my ward's Gospel Doctrine class one Sunday. None of the 28 students present had so much as heard of the Documentary Hypothesis.[34]

The centrist position of Roberts and Sperry, which acknowledges the value of scholarship but questions its results on this issue (category 4), is of the longest standing and continues to be a very vibrant point of view among the Saints. Probably the earliest LDS reaction to the hypothesis—by George Reynolds in 1881—can be categorized here.[35] The continued strength of this position is suggested by the 1979 edition of the LDS King James Version,[36] which basically adopts the Roberts view that Moses wrote the Pentateuch based on several documentary sources, and acknowledges the influence of scribes and copyists (as for instance with respect to the explanation of Moses' supposed death).

Janne M. Sjodahl gives an impressive (if concise) summary of the development of the Documentary Hypothesis, invoking the names of Hobbes, Spinoza, Astruc, Eichorn, de Wette, Ewald, Graf, Kuenen, Davidson, Driver, Briggs, and Wellhausen.[37] He then concludes, however, that the theory is wrong, based on Nephi's mention of the "five books of Moses," which Sjodahl calls Nephi's "testimony to a skeptical world."[38]

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32. Bruce R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1966), 353-55; *cf.* Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible*, 185-94. The attitude of J. Reuben Clark, Jr., is reflected in his *Why the King James Version?* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1956); *cf.* Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible*, 158-81, and that of Mark E. Peterson is reflected in his *Moses: Man of Miracles* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1977). Other names could be added to this list, such as Orson F. Whitney, J. Golden Kimball, and Spencer W. Kimball, but their criticisms of higher criticism are more generic and betray no indication that they had specific knowledge about the Documentary Hypothesis.

33. Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible*, 135, 146-47, acknowledges that most Saints have no knowledge of higher criticism in general, much less the Documentary Hypothesis in particular.

34. The poll was conducted on May 7, 2000, in the Gospel Doctrine class of the Schaumburg First Ward, Schaumburg Illinois Stake, northwest of Chicago. Several class members volunteered that they knew what the Pentateuch was.

35. George Reynolds, "Thoughts on Genesis," *The Contributor* 3 (October 1881): 16-17.

36. In the Bible Dictionary, *s.v.* "Pentateuch," 748.

37. In *An Introduction to the Study of the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1927), 200-02.

38. For a similar approach, see A. A. Ramseyer, "Who Wrote the Pentateuch?" *Improvement Era* 9 (April 1908): 437-42.

James Edward Homans, who wrote under the pen name of Robert C. Webb, wrote two of the more sophisticated efforts along these lines.[39] Although Homans was not LDS, he often wrote essays such as these for the *Improvement Era*, so it seems proper to include his contributions here.

Hugh Nibley did not accept the Documentary Hypothesis in his writings. He does not, however, appear to have made the hypothesis a matter of independent study; rather, his views appear to have been dependent on those of the noted non-LDS scholar Cyrus Gordon.[40] This underscores a point made by Hamblin,[41] to the effect that most people, no matter what their orientation, "base their conclusions about scripture and history not on a first-hand knowledge of the evidence or analysis, but on authority." Hamblin points out that relatively few have the critical tools, such as knowledge of biblical languages, to be able to engage the evidence directly. Nibley's reliance on Gordon demonstrates that even those with the critical tools often rely on the authority of others whom they trust on many issues; there simply is not enough time for a scholar individually to investigate every issue that may interest him or her.

An anonymously authored Sunday School Supplement in *Sunstone* specifically addressed the Documentary Hypothesis.[42] This article traces the basics of the development of the theory. It suggests, however, that it is reasonable to consider Moses as the author of the Pentateuch, and the author opines that this is the preferable position. The piece ends with separate bibliographies for the Documentary Hypothesis and for the hypothesis of Mosaic authorship. Melodie Moench Charles wrote a letter calling the publication of this supplement "unfortunate" and posing a number of difficulties with Mosaic authorship.[43]

Kevin Christensen, in his response[44] to Wright's *Sunstone* article, uses

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39. R. C. Webb, "What is the Higher Criticism?" *Improvement Era* 19 (May 1916): 620-26, and "Criticism of the Higher Critics," *Improvement Era* 19 (June 1916): 706-13.

40. See Hugh W. Nibley, *Since Cumorah* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), 25, reprinted by FARMS as vol. 7 in *The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley*, 22-23, where Nibley quotes Gordon as writing "Though Bible scholars live in an age of unprecedented discovery, they stand in the shadow of nineteenth-century higher criticism, . . . even though archaeology has rendered it untenable" (in Cyrus H. Gordon, "Higher Critics and Forbidden Fruit," *Christianity Today* 4 (1959): 131); ibid., 435n110: "No one questions that Hammurabi's Code is a single composition in spite of the fact that the prologue and epilogue are not only written in poetry (as opposed to the prose of the laws) but in different dialect from the laws, because the poetry calls not only for a different style but even for different grammatical forms." (Cyrus H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Literature* [Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1949], 7, discussing other cases as well).

41. In "The Final Step," 12.

42. "The Pentateuch and Modern Scholarship," *Sunstone* 5, no. 6 (November 1980): 61-63.

43. In Reader's Forum, *Sunstone* 6, no.1 (January 1981): 4. I have included Charles in my categorization above based on this letter.

44. "A Response to David Wright on Historical Criticism," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 3, no. 1 (Spring 1994): 74-93, esp. 78-80.

the Documentary Hypothesis to make a point. Wright had remarked that in historical (*i.e.*, fundamentalist) mode conclusions in many respects are "predetermined"; Christensen responds that "the same could be said of his critical mode to the extent that the critical scholar's tools and methods have been devised to solve problems within that paradigm." To illustrate, he compares the conventional treatment of the Documentary Hypothesis in Richard Friedman's *Who Wrote the Bible?*[45] with another book, published the same year, that challenges that hypothesis: Isaac Kikawada and Arthur Quinn's *Before Abraham Was*.[46] Where Friedman shows the traditional seams between P and J in the Noah account of Genesis, Kikawada and Quinn show the same material in what appears to be a unified chiastic structure. We will return to the issue of chiasmus later. At this point I simply wish to share a quote from Christensen, which in my view articulates the ideal of category 4:

> However, in rejecting the conclusions of two generations of "critical" scholars, Kikawada and Quinn do not reject the ideals or fruits of scholarship. Theirs is not an anti-intellectual approach, but an attempt to define an alternate paradigm that is more accurate, more comprehensive and coherent, more fruitful and promising.[47]

As Barlow originally observed, the influential Harvard-and-Göttingen-educated apostle John A. Widtsoe seemed to hold a position on the spectrum ambiguously between that of Chamberlin and Roberts.[48] Widtsoe stated that there could be no objection to the critical study of the Bible, as long as it is a legitimate search for truth and not a mere exercise in negativism.[49] Higher criticism is not to be feared by Latter-day Saints. He acknowledged many of the conclusions of the higher critics, such as the Documentary Hypothesis, but he also stressed the provisional and tentative nature of the critical enterprise: "The purpose of Higher Criticism may be acceptable; but its limitations must ever be kept in mind . . . ."[50] Given the

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45. Richard Elliot Friedman, *Who Wrote the Bible?* (New York: Harper and Row, 1989), which Dozeman cites at 99n53.

46. Isaac M. Kikawada and Arthur Quinn, *Before Abraham Was* (San Francisco: Ignatius, 1989).

47. Christensen, "Response to David Wright," 80. Note that Christensen also mentions Kikawada and Quinn's critique of the Documentary Hypothesis in passing in his review of Anthony Hutchinson's "A Mormon Midrash?" See Kevin Christensen, "New Wine and New Bottles: Scriptural Scholarship as Sacrament," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 24, no. 3 (Fall 1991): 121-29, on 122.

48. Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible*, 135.

49. See John A. Widtsoe, *In Search of Truth* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1930), 81-93, and *Evidences and Reconciliations* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1943), 97-101, excerpts from which are reprinted as an epilogue in Vogel, *The Word of God*, 265-67.

50. Ibid., 266.

nature of the inquiry, he opined that the conclusions of higher criticism might always remain in the realm of hypothesis.

Widtsoe's position laid the foundation for what has become category 3. Category 3 is close to category 4, but is distinguished by a greater openness to accepting the Documentary Hypothesis, or at least parts of it, and a willingness to use it as a critical tool. Category 3 is distinguished from category 2 by its emphasis on the tenuousness of the hypothesis.

While Widtsoe seemed to hold this ground alone in the first half of the century, in the last quarter of the century several LDS scholars have followed in his footsteps. In a groundbreaking study, John Sorenson used the Documentary Hypothesis as a critical tool in examining the origins of the brass plates spoken of in the Book of Mormon.[51] As is obligatory in such works, Sorenson describes the basics of the hypothesis. He then describes the increased scholarly skepticism about the hypothesis that arose in the 1930's based on biblical archaeology (which we shall address further below). Yet, despite the problems, scholars still believed the 19th century scholarship was correct in assigning different blocks of material corresponding roughly to what is designated J, E, D, and P in the Pentateuch. Sorenson quotes Clyde Francisco (who in turn is quoting C. R. North) with a succinct statement of the matter: "It seems quite clear that if we bury the 'documents,' we shall have to resurrect them—or something very much like them."[52]

Sorenson notes that most previous LDS treatments had been needlessly defensive. He goes on to state as his thesis that the variant Old Testament text of the brass plates corresponds to one of the "documents" from which the Pentateuch was compiled. In particular, he suggests E for this role, due to its origins in the north, the ancestral home of Lehi, and for other reasons. The argument is of course speculative, and it should be noted that not all scholars today continue to acknowledge the existence of a separate E source. Nevertheless, I view Sorenson's work as a model for category 3 scholarship. Like Widtsoe, he shows no fear of the hypothesis; going beyond Widtsoe, he uses the hypothesis as a critical tool in seeking to elaborate and understand Mormon scripture.[53]

S. Kent Brown wrote an excellent, if brief, survey of the Documentary Hypothesis for an LDS audience that was published in 1985.[54] Like Widt-

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51. John L. Sorenson, "The Brass Plates and Modern Scholarship," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 10, no. 4 (Autumn 1977): 31-39.

52. Ibid., 32.

53. I have included Robert F. Smith under category 3 based on an unpublished paper he wrote, cited by Sorenson, entitled "A Documentary Analysis of the Book of Abraham." Although Smith is to my knowledge not LDS, I include him here on the same basis as my inclusion of Homans under category 4.

54. S. Kent Brown, "Approaches to the Pentateuch," in Kent P. Jackson and Robert L. Millet, eds., *Studies in Scripture: Volume Three, Genesis to 2 Samuel* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985), 13-23.

soe, Brown is rather coy about just how much or how little of the hypothesis he might accept. But his familiarity with the scholarship and control of the literature give him the same lack of fear and defensiveness displayed by Widtsoe and Sorenson, which I see as a major attribute of category 3.[55]

Scott Kenney wrote a fine, positive introduction to the Documentary Hypothesis, focusing in particular on the flood narrative. He makes the point that the *History of the Church* was compiled in a similar fashion, with material from different sources redacted together as a single narrative, as if told from the perspective of Joseph Smith. Kenney concludes that "biblical scholarship can illuminate elements of that revelatory process that have long been ignored by Latter-day Saints."[56]

A more recent illustration of category 3 scholarship is Bruce Pritchett's study of pre-Exilic and Exilic references to the fall of Adam in the Old Testament.[57] Pritchett alludes to possible problems with the Documentary Hypothesis based on the Genesis Project (discussed below).[58] He nevertheless uses the hypothesis as a critical tool in analyzing the development of the Paradise narrative, identifying traditional, Yahwistic, and Priestly stages of development.

Alan Goff reports that he frequently finds a consonance between biblical criticism, including higher criticism, and his readings of the Book of Mormon. Although he does not directly address the Documentary Hypothesis, he uses it comfortably as a critical tool in his study of that book.[59]

This brief survey[60] of 20th-century Mormon reactions to the Documentary Hypothesis shows a modest trend back towards the left side of the spectrum. Although category 1 flows from category 2, it seems to me that

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55. A minor clarification to Brown's essay: He describes a theory that the phrase "these are the generations of . . ." in Genesis constitutes the closing line of a family history and that the phrase may have appeared at the end of each of a series of 11 successive tablets. I agree with him that this is an intriguing suggestion. He relates the theory as having been proposed by R. K. Harrison; while Harrison does describe the theory in some detail, his own footnotes make it clear that Harrison is following D. J. Wiseman here. See Roland Kenneth Harrison, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969), 548.

56. Scott Kenney, "Mormons, Genesis & Higher Criticism," *Sunstone* 3, no. 1 (November 1977): 8-12, on 12. I note here that Daniel H. Rector also commented on the Documentary Hypothesis in "Future for Mormon Theology," *Sunstone* 11, no. 3 (May 1987): 4-5, but not in sufficient detail for me to categorize his views (his comment went to the temporary halt the hypothesis put to the notion of a "biblical theology").

57. Bruce M. Pritchett, Jr., "Lehi's Theology of the Fall in Its Preexilic/Exilic Context," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 3, no. 2 (Fall 1994): 49-83.

58. Ibid., 54.

59. Alan Goff, "Boats, Beginnings and Repetitions," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 1, no. 1 (Fall 1992): 67-84.

60. We should also take note of Brett DelPorto's review of Harold Bloom's *The Book of J* in "Harold Bloom's Ironic, Female, Co-Author of the Bible," *Sunstone* 15, no. 1 (April 1991): 56-59.

the more recent liberal position with its rejection of historical faith claims is somewhat further to the left than the original liberal position. On the right, no doubt category 6 continues to be a position held by many, but the passing of the conservative titans who established that category has left a situation wherein there is little public comment by church leaders attacking higher criticism today. In the absence of such attacks, the vast majority of the membership of the church simply makes traditional assumptions (category 5) in ignorance that there is an issue possibly calling those assumptions into question. In the middle, category 4 continues its strength as an alternative to the extreme views on the left and the right. In addition, category 3 has developed out of category 4, displaying a greater willingness to accept the Documentary Hypothesis and to use it as a critical tool.

The astute reader will note that I have listed myself on the table under category 3. I do accept the theory, or at least portions of it, for reasons that I will describe in greater detail below. As a working model, I accept the hypothesis in the form articulated by Richard Friedman, which includes retention of an early date for J, retention of a separate E, and an understanding of P as predating D. I am well aware, however, that just because I find Friedman to be the most articulate exponent of the theory, this does not necessarily make him right in his views. Furthermore, the farther we move away from the differentiation of discrete blocks of material toward microsurgery on individual verses, the more agnostic I become on the ability of the hypothesis to support such fine distinctions. I similarly tend toward a certain agnosticism on dating issues; I find the various arguments over dating to be the weakest parts of the theory.

The remainder of this essay will be a reflection on some of my own views concerning the Documentary Hypothesis. I believe the church is wise to allow for a broad spectrum of belief on this issue, and I have no particular interest in proselytizing anyone to my way of thinking. Nevertheless, as a centrist it may be useful for me to share some of my ruminations on the theory. I personally do not find category 6 appealing, and since I know about the theory, category 5 is for me not possible. But I do feel the pull both of category 4 to my right and categories 1 and 2 to my left.

I will begin by asking the question "What is at stake?" in terms of faith commitments if one does accept the theory. As a 3, I happen to believe that it is possible to accept the hypothesis without unduly compromising one's religious beliefs (assuming that those beliefs are not fundamentalist and reflect a certain flexibility and liberality). Another characteristic of 3s is their emphasis on the tentativeness of the hypothesis; in the next section I will share some of the misgivings I feel about accepting the hypothesis, as well as some of the reasons that acceptance for me is not set in stone. Next, I will explain why I tentatively do accept the theory. And finally, I will illustrate the use of the theory as a critical tool in elucidating LDS scripture.

What is at Stake?

There are a couple of religious issues that Latter-day Saints share with other Christians and Jews faced with the Documentary Hypothesis. The first has to do with prophetic authority. Although the Pentateuch itself does not claim Moses as its author, the tradition of Mosaic authorship is a venerable one indeed. If it should turn out that the great prophet Moses did not author the Pentateuch, on what basis should we accept it as scripture? Why is it more binding on us than any other pseudonymous writings from antiquity? Whence comes the religious authority of those books if they were written by nameless Jews?

It seems to me that Latter-day Saints, like Catholics and liberal Protestants, have a bit of an advantage in dealing with this issue as compared to conservative Protestants. While the Bible is important to us, we have other sources of religious authority as well. The authors of the Pentateuch may or may not have been prophets in their own right, but faithful Latter-day Saints have modern prophets leading and guiding the church today. Since these prophets accept the Pentateuch as scripture, we have a sort of modern "ratification" of the scriptural authority of the books attributed to Moses.[61] For religious traditions that accept no religious authority but the Bible itself, this is a more vexing question.[62]

A second issue is that of scriptural inerrancy. As I've pointed out, the Pentateuch itself does not claim Moses as its author, but Jesus and others often quoted from the Pentateuch and matter-of-factly ascribed authorship of that material to Moses. Therefore, scriptural inerrancy is fundamentally inconsistent with the hypothesis. During the 50 years that Catholics were bound to a doctrine of inerrancy by Pope Leo XIII's encyclical *Providentissimus Deus* (1893),[63] they were not able to accept the Documentary Hypothesis; shortly after that position was overturned by Pius XII's *Divino Afflante Spiritu* (1943), many Catholic scholars began to incorporate the hypothesis into their teaching. Evangelicals who accept the Chicago Statement on Biblical Inerrancy would appear to be prohibited from accepting the hypothesis, as the Statement seems to allow no exception for statements in scripture regarding authorship.

Mormons have not traditionally insisted on inerrancy, so for them the Documentary Hypothesis is not *a priori* out of bounds. My experience teaching in the church suggests, however, that many individual Latter-day Saints do make inerrantist assumptions about the scriptures. So while

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61. *Cf.* Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible*, 120.

62. Friedman speculates that D may have been written by Jeremiah or, possibly, Baruch, and that R was Ezra. See Friedman, *Who Wrote the Bible?*, 242. This underscores the possibility that the authors of the sources may well have been prophets in their own right.

63. See Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible*, 107.

inerrancy may not be a formal hindrance to acceptance of the theory, for many it will be a practical one.[64] I personally do not think that Jesus was bound to alter the assumptions current in his day about Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, just as I do not think that he was bound to teach first century Judeans about quantum mechanics. I have taught many Old Testament lessons in the church, but I have never taught the Documentary Hypothesis in those settings, which is rather too academic for what those classes were trying to accomplish. Similarly, I believe Jesus was justified in teaching from within the culture of first-century Palestine.

Mormons have an additional layer of concerns, not shared by other Christians or Jews, relating to their own modern scripture: the Book of Mormon, the Book of Moses/Joseph Smith Translation, and the Book of Abraham. In the case of the Book of Mormon, I see no necessary conflict between that book's essential historicity and the Documentary Hypothesis. The dating of the sources raises a potential conflict, if one accepts a late date for P[65] or the growing trend, described by Dozeman, of a late date for J.[66] But in the model of the theory I accept, the sources are all pre-Exilic,[67] and,

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64. Stephen E. Robinson accepts a doctrine of inerrancy consistent with the Chicago Statement; see Craig L. Blomberg and Stephen E. Robinson, *How Wide the Divide? A Mormon & an Evangelical in Conversation* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1997), 33-76. As much as I enjoyed the book and appreciated Robinson's skills as an excellent spokesman for the Mormon side of the conversation, I disagree with him on this particular issue. Rather, I agree with the comments of Blake T. Ostler's review, "Bridging the Gulf," *FARMS Review of Books* 11, no. 2 (1999): 103-77.

65. Alan Goff, "A Hermeneutic of Sacred Texts: Historicism, Revisionism, Positivism, and the Bible and Book of Mormon," master's thesis, Brigham Young University (1989), 109-11, addresses a difficulty perceived by William Russell. Russell had wondered why the Pentateuch is not reflected much in the Book of Mormon (particularly the Pentateuch's dietary and ritual laws and the detailed legislation). Goff's proposed solution is to point to the traditional position that P was not known before the Exile. While I applaud Goff's instincts here, personally I believe that P predated D and, therefore, was a pre-Exilic text. I would follow Sorenson in seeing the relative lack of P influence in the Book of Mormon as a function of Lehi's roots being in the north. See the discussion in Daniel B. McKinlay's review of Goff's master's thesis, in *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon* 2 (1970): 86-95, on 94.

66. Joseph Blenkinsopp, *The Pentateuch: An Introduction to the First Five Books of the Bible* (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 26, points out that the recent trend toward a later dating is, to an uncomfortable extent, based on an *argumentum e silentio*, the principle being that that which is not positively known to be early must be late. He also points out that these arguments put the critic under obligation to fill the vacuum left in the pre-Exilic period by the displacement of the early sources; that is, to provide an alternative account of the development of the tradition in either oral or written form, or both.

67. For the historical argument see Friedman, *Who Wrote the Bible?*, 161-73, in a chapter entitled "A Brilliant Mistake." For linguistic evidence that the Hebrew of P predates Ezekiel, see the following: Avi Hurvitz, "The Evidence of Language in Dating the Priestly Code," *Revue Biblique* 81 (1974): 24-56, and *A Linguistic Study of the Relationship Between the Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel* (Paris: Gabalda, 1982); Jacob Milgrom, *Studies in Levitical Terminology* I (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970); Robert Polzin, *Late Biblical*

as I have indicated, I tend somewhat towards a certain agnosticism on the dating of the sources anyway.[68]

According to 1 Nephi 5:11, the brass plates contained the "five books of Moses." The reader will recall that Sjodahl rejected the Documentary Hypothesis outright based on that passage alone. But if the basic sources were all pre-Exilic, we do not know in what form those sources existed prior to the redaction of R. It may well be that there were "five books" of Moses, only in a somewhat different configuration than the five books we know today.[69] Although I admit this as a possibility, personally I think it is simpler to assume that the text referred to "books of Moses," taking the number "five" as a translator's gloss. 1 Nephi 19:23 refers to the "books of Moses" on the brass plates without the number "five," which supports this possibility. In fact, the first edition (1830) has "the Book of Moses," which suggests that even the plural "books" in 1 Nephi 5:11 may be a gloss based on the Prophet Joseph's assumptions and expectations.[70] 1 Nephi 22:20 and Helaman 8:13 refer simply and ambiguously to the "words" of Moses.

Hebrew: Toward an Historical Typology of Biblical Hebrew Prose (Decatur, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1976), G. Rendsburg, "Late Biblical Hebrew and the Date of P," *Journal of the Ancient Near East Society* 12 (1980): 65-80, and Ziony Zevit, "Converging Lines of Evidence Bearing on the Date of P," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 94 (1982): 502-509.

68. A more significant dating issue for the Book of Mormon relates to the proper dating of Second and Third Isaiah. A full discussion of this issue is beyond the scope of this essay. Most Mormons have responded to the issue by insisting on the unity of Isaiah; for a brief survey of this position, see John W. Welch, "Authorship of the Book of Isaiah in Light of the Book of Mormon," in Donald W. Parry and John W. Welch, eds., *Isaiah in the Book of Mormon* (Provo: FARMS, 1998), 423-37. I will simply point out, as Nibley first observed (in *Since Cumorah*, 137-43), that the Book of Mormon text does not itself necessarily require such a conclusion. Indeed, in certain ways the Book of Mormon supports a multiple authorship view, particularly by beginning with Isaiah 2 rather than the later Isaiah 1, and by not quoting from Third Isaiah (with the possible exception of Jacob 6:14, which may allude to Isaiah 65:2; however, as David Wright himself observes, the allusion is only indirect, and seems to be directly based on Romans 10:20-21). This observation does not completely resolve the problem because the Book of Mormon still quotes from Second Isaiah, but it does provide a foundation for a scholarly resolution, as one could posit a Second Isaiah dating to the end of the 7th century or, possibly, the beginning of the 6th century B.C.E. See William Hamblin, "'Isaiah Update' Challenge," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 17, no.1 (Spring 1984): 4-7. David Wright insists that Second Isaiah must date to no earlier than 540 B.C.E., thus, leaving a remaining gap of a minimum of about 60 years; see his "Does 'and upon all the ships of the sea' (2 Ne. 12:16 // Isa. 2:16) Reflect an Ancient Isaian Variant?" *Mormon Scripture Studies* <http://mormonscripturestudies.com/> at n34. While the issue has not yet been fully resolved, it seems to me that working with critical scholarship, as Nibley and Hamblin do, rather than butting heads against it, as most have tried, is the most promising avenue for an acceptable resolution.

69. For example, if J and E continued to exist in separate form along with the combination JE, the five "books" could have been J, E, JE, P, and D.

70. Kent Robson, without arguing for either, mentions both these possibilities in "The Bible, the Church, and its Scholars," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 2, no. 1 (Spring 1967): 85-90.

The Book of Mormon contains numerous references to "the law of Moses." But that usage (*torath Mosheh*) was already attested in the scriptures to which Lehi would have had access.[71] Alma 13 also contains a version of the Ten Commandments that is close, but not identical, to Exodus 20. Scholars have theorized that there was an original text of the Commandments deriving from E that was elaborated on by P in Exodus 20 and by D in Deuteronomy 5. One who insists on "tight control" might say that Abinadi had access to a version of the Commandments that was influenced by P; one who allows for a "loose control" might say that Abinadi's text derived from E (consistent with Sorenson's theory), but that Joseph in general followed the form given in KJV Exodus 20, since it sufficed for his purpose here (*a la* B. H. Roberts's explanation of Joseph's use of the KJV in the Book of Mormon generally). It is most significant to me, however, that this lengthy text crosses no seams between sources.

I do not intend here to undertake a complete study of the use of the various documentary sources in the Book of Mormon. It will suffice for me to offer one example of how the Documentary Hypothesis can help to make sense of something we find in that book. In 1 Nephi 17:29, Nephi is lecturing his brothers on the importance of keeping the commandments of God:

> Yea, and ye also know that Moses, by his word according to the power of God which was in him, smote the rock, and there came forth water, that the children of Israel might quench their thirst.

This incident is recounted in completely positive terms and is almost certainly based on the E text of Exodus 17:6. P in Num. 20:1-13 gives the incident at the waters of Meribah a different spin. In this "anti-Moses" text, Moses fails to follow the Lord's instructions precisely (by striking the rock rather than speaking to it), and he and Aaron seem to take the glory of the miracle to themselves: "Hear now, ye rebels; must *we* fetch you water out of this rock?" (Num. 20:10, emphasis added). According to Num. 20:12, this incident became the reason the Lord refused to allow Moses to enter the promised land. Now, every Sunday school student is familiar with both the positive and negative accounts of Moses striking the rock; in fact, the 1981 LDS edition of the Book of Mormon cross-references both Exodus 17:6 and Num. 20:11. Yet Nephi and the Book of Mormon betray no knowledge whatsoever of the negative P tradition. I find this to be remarkable, and I take it as an indication that there may well be something to the Documentary Hypothesis.[72]

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71. As in Joshua 8:31-32, 23:6; 1 Kings 2:3; 2 Kings 14:6, 23:25; 2 Chronicles 23:18, 25:4, and 30:16.

72. I think it would be worthwhile for someone to study all of the references and allusions to, and quotations of, the Pentateuch in the Book of Mormon, with a view to

The Book of Moses is, of course, derived from the JST. Although the former is canonical and the latter is not, I think about them in essentially the same way. My experience teaching in the church suggests that the vast majority of Saints simply assumes that the JST is nothing more nor less than a textual restoration. Such a view is, of course, inconsistent with the Documentary Hypothesis.

My own approach to the Joseph Smith Translation is eclectic; I think there are different things going on in different passages. I find what I call the "Matthews paradigm" to be a useful way of thinking about those different things:

1. Portions may amount to restorations of content material once written by the biblical authors but since deleted from the Bible.
2. Portions may consist of a record of actual historical events that were not recorded, or were recorded but never included in the biblical collection.
3. Portions may consist of inspired commentary by the Prophet Joseph Smith, enlarged, elaborated, and even adapted to a latter-day situation. This may be similar to what Nephi meant by "likening" the scriptures to himself and his people in their particular circumstance. (See 1 Nephi 19:23-24; 2 Nephi 11:8.)
4. Some items may be a harmonization of doctrinal concepts that were revealed to the Prophet Joseph Smith independently of his translation of the Bible, but by means of which he was able to discover that a biblical passage was inaccurate.[73]

Personally, I would turn this paradigm somewhat on its head and weight

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determining which sources appear to be used and whether any obvious seams are crossed. I am not aware of any major seam being crossed in the Book of Mormon, but I have not undertaken a detailed study of the matter. My brief survey above is consistent with Sorenson's thesis that the brass plates contained E, but I suspect that other sources may be represented. For instance, Mosiah 13:5, which reports that Abinadi's face shone with exceeding luster as Moses' did, seems to be dependent on a P text (Exodus 34:29-35). But, as with the Ten Commandments, it is difficult to know whether there may have been an E text underlying the P account in Exodus 34. Given the brevity of the Book of Mormon allusion and its pro-Moses nature, this is certainly a possibility.

73. Robert J. Matthews, *"A Plainer Translation": Joseph Smith's Translation of the Bible: A History and Commentary* (Provo: BYU Press, 1985), 253. An obvious addition to this list would be alternate English translations that involve no difference in the original language text. Another eclectic approach is provided by Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible*, 51-61, who suggests that the JST emendations fall into six categories: (1) long, revealed additions with little or no biblical parallel, such as the visions of Moses and Enoch; (2) "commonsense" changes; (3) interpretive additions (often signaled by the phrase "or in other words"); (4) harmonizations; (5) diverse changes that resist categorization; and (6) grammatical improvements, technical clarifications, and modernization of terms.

inspired commentaries as substantially more numerous than textual restorations.[74] I also very much like Anthony Hutchinson's insight comparing such commentary to the *midrashim* and *targumin* (to which I would add the genres of "rewritten Bible" and *pesharim* attested among the Dead Sea Scrolls).[75] I will suggest further below how an eclectic reading of the JST cannot only accommodate the Documentary Hypothesis, but in a way, in fact, supports it.

As Hutchinson points out, Abraham 4-5 crosses the P-J seam at Genesis 2:4, which raises a potential issue with respect to the Documentary Hypothesis. Personally, I am open to three theories regarding the origins of the Book of Abraham: (1) the Book of Abraham is a late copy of a text actually going back to Abraham, the papyrus source of which was not part of the

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74. Where I believe Matthews would assume that a JST change is a textual restoration unless there is a compelling reason not to, I would assume that a JST change is not a textual restoration unless there is some sort of evidence to support that conclusion. Although extant textual evidence would be best, I realize that a great deal of such evidence has been lost. I would be satisfied if we could at least demonstrate some sort of rationale why a scribe or redactor, either intentionally or accidentally, would have altered the text. For instance, there was a demonstrable trend away from viewing God in anthropomorphic terms, so if a JST change were to restore an anthropomorphic understanding of God, that change would at least have a chance of being in effect a textual restoration. In my judgment, in the majority of cases it is difficult to see why a scribe would have corrupted the text in the direction posited by the JST; therefore, it seems more likely to me that such passages are something other than a textual restoration.

75. I believe the common assumption among the general membership that the JST is nothing but a pure textual restoration is untenable. I wrote an article using a particular type of textual evidence to support the view, held by Hugh Nibley, Richard Lloyd Anderson, John Tvedtnes, and many of my BYU professors (outside the Religion Department), that a more nuanced and eclectic approach to the JST is necessary. See Kevin L. Barney, "The Joseph Smith Translation and Ancient Texts of the Bible," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 19, no. 3 (Fall 1986): 85-102. While my article takes the Matthews paradigm seriously (I give suggested examples of textual restorations and historical corrections in addition to inspired commentary; although I did not address this in the article, I also believe it is somewhat ironic, given the title "Joseph Smith Translation," that Saints rarely consider the possibility that some changes may actually represent alternate *translations* without positing any change in the ancient text), some of Matthews's colleagues in the Religion Department of BYU seem not to take it seriously. For instance, the assumption of nothing but pure textual restoration is absolutely pervasive in the essays of Monte S. Nyman and Robert L. Millet, eds., *The Joseph Smith Translation: The Restoration of Plain and Precious Things* (Provo: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1985), and Robert L. Millet and Robert J. Matthews, *Plain and Precious Things Restored: The Doctrinal and Historical Significance of the Joseph Smith Translation* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1995). There is a tendency for these authors to take a very fundamentalist view of the JST as a pure textual restoration, and to invoke the Matthews paradigm only *in extremis* (if at all; to my knowledge, it is not referred to even once in these two books). I believe that we need to teach our people a more informed, defensible, and possibly more fruitful approach to the JST, and although I personally weight Matthews's categories somewhat differently than he does, I would be thrilled to see the Matthews paradigm taught to the general membership of the church.

J. S. Papyri recovered from the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York; (2) the Book of Abraham is an inspired translation of a Hellenistic-era pseudepigraphon; or (3) Karl C. Sandberg's pure revelation theory reflected in his essay "Knowing Brother Joseph Again: The Book of Abraham, and Joseph Smith as Translator,"[76] in which he equates "translation" as practiced by Joseph Smith with seership. The second and third theories would not conflict with the Documentary Hypothesis, but the first would *if* those two chapters were taken as a literal translation of material deriving from Abraham. I do not profess to know precisely what is going on in Abraham 4-5, so I tend to approach that material as reflecting a "loose control." I view Abraham 4-5 as relating in some way to the KJV of Genesis 1-2 with corrections largely deriving from Joseph Smith's academic study of Hebrew in the Kirtland School of the Prophets.[77] In fact, many of the variations in those chapters of Abraham from the KJV of Genesis do not presuppose a different underlying text; rather, they appear to be alternative (and generally superior) *translations* of the same text underlying the KJV. Therefore, I would tend to apply (by analogy to the Book of Mormon) either the Roberts view (i.e., that the Abrahamic text contained a revelation concerning the creation, but Joseph Smith worked from the KJV as being sufficiently close for this purpose) or the Ostler view (i.e., that the material paralleling Genesis 1-2 in Abraham 4-5 is an "expansion" on the basic Abrahamic text).

Some Misgivings

I have several misgivings about the Documentary Hypothesis. The first has to do with some of the intellectual traditions that contributed to its development. For instance, as Dozeman mentions (90), anti-Catholic polemic at one time played a role in the formation of the theory, as also did anti-Semitic polemic. In the early part of this century, it was not unusual for Jewish leaders to call higher criticism the "higher anti-Semitism."[78] These polemical attitudes tended to lead some to argue for a late date for the P material. The contribution of these strains of thought to the theory concerns me. Mormons, with their ordained priesthood, are closer to Catholics on "priestly" issues than are conservative Protestants, and the general phil-Semiticism (attraction to things Semitic) of Mormonism is well known. Therefore, that which is anti-Catholic or anti-Semitic can easily become anti-Mormon in a hurry. Of course, many Catholic and Jewish scholars adopt the theory today, and I have no reason to suspect that polemics continue to

76. In *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 22, no. 4 (Winter 1989): 17-37.

77. See Kevin L. Barney, "Joseph Smith's Emendation of Hebrew Genesis 1:1," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 30, no. 4 (Winter 1997): 103-35.

78. Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible*, 121.79; Harrison, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, 28.

play a role in the current articulation of the theory. I do wonder, though, whether the theory might have taken an unfortunate and misguided turn at some point in the past due to the hatreds of some of its proponents.

Another factor that tended to support a late date for P was Hegelian philosophy. Some of the theory's architects made terribly simplistic assumptions about the straight-line evolution of societies from simple tribes to more complex forms (often characterized as developing in three successive, artificial stages). Thus the complicated legal requirements of the temple cultus reflected in P had to come at the end of this evolutionary development. For my part, I reject any such assumption.

As the theory was presented at the beginning of the century, it showed the strong influence of Enlightenment rationalism. It was often presented as a challenge to religion. Today, I think that there are many religiously faithful scholars who have come to terms with the theory. Dozeman, for instance, to his credit, presents the case for the theory in "bloodless" terms. The issue for him is not between reason and religion; rather, the question is simply whether Moses composed the Pentateuch in the form in which we have it today. I can only accept the theory on such a narrow, bloodless basis. If the question were between the Documentary Hypothesis and one's religion, I suspect most people would choose their religion. As I have suggested, however, I do not believe the choice is necessarily that stark.

I also worry about the imposition of the theory among young scholars as a matter of academic politics. Speaking of the end of the last century, the late R. K. Harrison remarked:

> A close if unofficial surveillance was imposed upon potential candidates for positions in the Old Testament field in British universities, and only those who displayed proper respect for the canons of critical orthodoxy were appointed to academic posts.[79]

This type of surveillance, of course, continued into the 20th century and continues yet today. Therefore, more conservative positions tend to be severely handicapped in the academic marketplace.

B. H. Roberts was often astonished "to see what heavy weights are hung [by critical scholars] upon very slender threads."[80] I can sympathize with that sentiment. I do not have anywhere near the confidence in the detailed results of source criticism that many biblical scholars seem to have. This point can be illustrated by an experiment conducted by three bright students of the ancient Near East and their obliging professor, a first-rate biblical scholar.[81] The students composed three page-length stories in a bib-

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79. Harrison, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, 28.

80. As quoted in Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible*, 115.

81. The experiment is recounted in Daniel C. Peterson, with John Gee, "Editor's Intro-

lical parody style. After one student composed a text, another would "redact" it by adding and deleting material; the professor then analyzed the resultant text the same way he would analyze the Bible itself. The professor did pretty well in his analysis of one of the three texts, but he was completely off on the other two. Of course, in true source criticism we have no way to check whether our conclusions are correct; in this experiment, where the results could be checked, the good professor only managed about a 33% success rate. That is a troubling and cautionary tale.

Further, it should not be assumed that all serious students of the Bible necessarily accept the Documentary Hypothesis. Out of curiosity, I took a poll on the Biblical Hebrew Listserv concerning list members' attitudes towards the Documentary Hypothesis, receiving 10 responses. Although this was not a scientifically constructed poll and the response rate was low,[82] it does illustrate that in a group of knowledgeable biblical scholars (including academics, graduate students, ministers, and Israelis, few of whom are LDS), it is not difficult to find those who reject the theory. Below I set forth the text of my initial post, with a very brief summary of the responses I received following each question in italic type and brackets:

> I have been reviewing scholarship on the Documentary Hypothesis. Given the number of Hebrew scholars here with strong views on such matters, I would like to take an informal survey of the members of this list regarding their views of the Documentary Hypothesis:

1. In general, do you accept the hypothesis? [*Of the 10 respondents, 3 (30%) accept the hypothesis; 7 (70%) reject it.*]

2. If you answered "yes" to question 1, in what ways do your views differ from the classical Graf-Wellhausen formulation of the hypothesis? (*E.g.*, do you accept or reject a separate E source? Would you date P prior to D, as some do? Do you agree with the recent trend of dating J late rather than early?) [*Of those who accepted the hypothesis, there was a fair amount of uncertainty whether various materials constituted sources, books, or schools. These respondents generally did not think we can limit the number of sources to 4, and were uncertain as to whether JE originated as separate sources. One of these respondents mentioned that he would date P prior to D.*]

3. If you reject the hypothesis from within the historical/literary critical school, with what would you replace it? A "fragmentary" view that sees numerous fragments being redacted together rather than three or four main documents? A "supplemental" view that sees one main source that

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duction: Through a Glass, Darkly," *FARMS Review of Books* 9, no. 2 (1997) in a section captioned "Creative Misreading," ix-xxiii.

82. The list has about 650 members, but the vast majority of those are lurkers, with only a couple of dozen contributing on a regular basis.

was supplemented with other material? Other? [*The only respondent to reject the hypothesis from within the literary-critical school, a minister, opted for a late, fragmentary theory.*]

4. If you reject the historical/literary critical enterprise altogether, what is your view of the composition and authorship of the Pentateuch? Is it a unified composition? What factors are most important in your rejection of the Documentary Hypothesis? [*6 of the 10 respondents (60%) see the Pentateuch as largely a unified composition written by Moses, with some updating by copyists. One, who holds a Ph.D. with an emphasis in biblical studies from Berkeley, complained about contradictory approaches among scholars, citing a study of nine different source critics of the Joseph narratives, not one of which agreed with the others in how he divided the section (acknowledging, however, this to be an easy target since J and E are difficult to separate in that section). Another respondent cited his own case study of the three wife-sister stories as showing that the glaring "contradictions" among them that are supposed to demonstrate separate sources are actually a deliberate literary device designed to teach theological truth.*[83] *An Israeli stated that he did not accept the hypothesis because of "the dishonest and anti-Semitic motivations of its proponents," echoing the old "higher anti-Semitism" comment. A couple of respondents stated in effect that, although this is not their area of expertise, they see the theory as failed. Although they have nothing with which to replace it, they state that this is no reason to cling to a failed theory. These respondents largely fall back on the older, conservative view and concentrate on linguistic matters.*]

Thanks in advance for your insights.

Some Cautions

Although I do accept the Documentary Hypothesis, my acceptance is a cautious one and is subject to change. I describe here some of the reasons for that caution:

Archaeology. The Graf-Wellhausen Hypothesis was worked out in the abstract in the German schools based primarily on the characteristics of the texts themselves. The great advance of Mesopotamian and Egyptian archaeology was still in its infancy at that time. Archaeology provides a "real world" control on the antiseptic researches of the literary critic in the library. In particular, the argument for late dating based on ritual complexity appears to be misplaced, given the already advanced state of civilization in other ancient Near Eastern cultures.

S. R. Driver succeeded to the Regius Professorship of Hebrew at Oxford on the death of E. B. Pussey in 1882. Driver overtook A. H. Sayce for

83. See John Ronning, "The Naming of Isaac: The Role of the Wife-Sister Episodes in the Redaction of Genesis," *Westminster Theological Journal* (Spring 1991): 1-27.

the position, who was turned down on the ground that he was a leading exponent of German criticism and, therefore, was an "unsafe candidate" for the chair (at a time when academic prejudice still cut against higher criticism rather than for it). Ironically, Driver went on to become one of the most important advocates for higher criticism in the English language. Meanwhile, Sayce turned his attention to archaeology and soon became one of the more vocal critics of the Graf-Wellhausen Hypothesis, publishing books with titles like *The "Higher Criticism" and the Verdict of the Monuments* (1894), *Early Israel and the Surrounding Nations* (1899), and *Monument Facts and Higher Critical Fancies* (1904).[84]

Half a century later, another prominent scholar who accepted the Documentary Hypothesis, Cyrus Gordon, also changed his mind based on archaeological factors. Gordon authored a series of standard lexical manuals on Ugaritic, and it was the Ras Shamra tablets themselves, along with material on Sumero-Akkadian tablets, that caused him to alter his opinion.[85] While exposure to archaeology has not caused most scholars to follow Gordon in rejecting the hypothesis entirely, in the latter half of the 20th century it has had a moderating influence on some of the prior excesses of the theory.[86]

Oral Tradition. Part of the problem with postulating three or four "sources" is in defining precisely what that means. Almost certainly these sources were not whole-cloth compositions, but relied in turn on earlier written sources. In addition to prior documentary sources, such as the Covenant Code (Ex. 20:22-23:33) and the Holiness Code (Lev. 17-26), there is also the matter of oral tradition to consider. Hermann Gunkel and his followers developed form criticism and sought to trace the religious ideas of the Hebrews back to their original oral forms. Later, the Uppsala School of Sweden also emphasized the oral transmission of the sagas of early Israel. In my view Uppsala School scholars go too far, preferring oral transmission almost to the exclusion of writing into a very late period. But for me the critical point is that wherever the written document stops, we still must go back further, even over a period of centuries, to trace the oral antecedents to the written documentary source (at least in the cases of J and E).

The Homeric Parallel. In 1940 Umberto Cassuto gave a series of eight lectures in Jerusalem on the Documentary Hypothesis.[87] In his first lecture

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84. See Harrison, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, 28-30.

85. See Cyrus H. Gordon, "Higher Critics and Forbidden Fruit," *Christianity Today* 4, no. 4 (1959): 131-34. See also the footnote to the description of Hugh Nibley's views above (n40).

86. See, for example, William F. Albright, "Toward a More Conservative View," *Christianity Today* 7, no. 8 (1963): 359-61.

87. Umberto Cassuto, *The Documentary Hypothesis and the Composition of the Pentateuch*, trans. Israel Abrahams (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1983).

he described the remarkable parallelism between Homeric and biblical studies. The role played by Astruc on the biblical side (described in some detail by Dozeman) was played on the Homeric side by another French dilettante, Abbe d'Aubignac. His book, *Conjectures*[88] *academiques ou dissertations sur l'Iliade,* published posthumously in 1715, expressed the view that Homer's poems were not unitary compositions, but rather collections of poems that were originally wholly unrelated. In each case, the French amateur was followed by a German professional scholar who transformed the Frenchman's opinions into a systematized theory.[89] The development of a fragmentary theory on the biblical side even more closely paralleled the Homeric theory, and both fields saw the development of a supplementary hypothesis in the 1830s. The pinnacle of 19th century multiple-source scholarship was reached on the biblical side by Wellhausen and on the Homeric side by Wilamowitz, men who were colleagues and friends.

The 1930s saw the beginnings of a paradigm shift in Homeric studies away from the older fragmentary approach to one of unity. The stage seemed to be set for a similar movement on the biblical side as well; the discovery of the Ras Shamra tablets in 1929 provided the ammunition, and scholars such as Cassuto and, later, Gordon pounded away against the Documentary Hypothesis. Unquestionably the 1930s were the low point for that theory during the 20th century. Nevertheless, Cassuto and others were ultimately unable to effect a comparable paradigm shift on the biblical side. There has been no widespread return to a unitary theory of the Pentateuch in biblical studies, thus, breaking the long pattern of parallelism with the classicists.

The long, parallel development between the two fields seems to have resulted in part from reciprocal influences and in part from the general ebb and flow of academic fashion. Inasmuch as there is no necessary reason that the fields should have matched each other in historical development, one is left to wonder just how "objective" the scholars have been in their studies. The breach of that parallelism in the 1930s may, of course, simply reflect differences in the origins of Homeric epic and the Pentateuch, but I cannot help wondering whether the classicists got something right where the biblicists failed to follow. I am ultimately uncertain what to make of this parallel, but its mere existence I find rather troubling, and the divergent paths established in the 1930s I find rather intriguing.

Literary Structures. One of the more sophisticated critiques of the Docu-

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88. Cassuto points out that Astruc's work was also called *Conjectures,* his title being *Conjectures sur les memoires originaux dont il parait que Moyse s'est servi pour composer le livre de la Genese.*

89. Represented on the biblical side by Eichhorn's *Einleitung ins Alte Testament* (1780-83), and on the Homeric side by Wolf's *Prolegomena ad Homerum* (1795).

mentary Hypothesis to appear in recent years is Kikawada and Quinn's *Before Abraham Was*. Focusing on Genesis 1-11, they acknowledge the apparent diversity of the material, which is what drives the Documentary Hypothesis, but they then argue that that diversity, in fact, reflects a complicated literary unity. Part of their argument depends upon a five-part repetitive structure that, at least on first reading, struck me as rather artificial. I was more impressed by the portion of the argument based on chiasmus. For instance, Genesis 6:8-9 forms a chiasm that seems to incorporate a J-P seam (the text attributed to P is italicized):

Noah
found favor
in the eyes of the LORD
These are the generations of Noah
Noah was a righteous man
perfect he was
in his generations
with God
walked
Noah[90]

Other examples are offered as well.

Many Latter-day Saints are, of course, familiar with chiasmus from the work of John Welch, who, as a missionary in Germany, discovered chiasmus in the Book of Mormon.[91] Welch's *Chiasmus in Antiquity* includes an article by Yehuda Radday,[92] who has been active in using chiasmus in arguments against the Documentary Hypothesis.[93] At present these arguments do not yet, in my judgment, amount to a comprehensive alternative explanation, but they do strike me as having potential if further developed and elaborated in concert with other gross literary structures.[94]

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90. This is the example cited by Kevin Christensen as mentioned previously.

91. See, for example, John W. Welch, "Chiasmus in the Book of Mormon," *BYU Studies* 10, no. 1 (1969): 69-84. I recently substitute-taught a Gospel Doctrine lesson that included Alma 36. I asked the class who among them had heard of chiasmus; about half raised their hands, which I consider a sizeable percentage.

92. Yehuda T. Radday, "Chiasmus in Hebrew Biblical Narrative," in John W. Welch, ed., *Chiasmus in Antiquity* (Provo: Research Press, 1999), 50-117 (first published by Gerstenberg Verlag, Hildesheim, in 1981).

93. E.g., Yehuda T. Radday, "Chiasm in Tora," *Linguistica Biblica* 19 (1972): 12-23.

94. Repetition was the hallmark of Hebrew literary style. As we shall see, part of the argument for the hypothesis involves numerous contradictions in the Pentateuch. But one is left to wonder why, if such numerous and blatant contradictions did not seem to bother R, we can be certain that an original author would have been bothered by them? See Kikawada and Quinn, *Before Abraham Was*, 59.

Part of the argument for the Documentary Hypothesis concerns different terminology used in different sections of text. The most famous example involves the names of deity (Yahweh v. El or Elohim), but there are others, such as the name of Moses' father-in-law (Jethro v. Reuel) or the mountain of God (Sinai v. Horeb). The common conservative explanation for the use of different names for God highlights the different semantic ranges of the names, suggesting that the names are used appropriately and consistently in their given contexts.[95] There is another possibility, however. In the Ras Shamra tablets, each deity generally has two names (or a name and a title), which are often used as formulaic word pairs in the repetitive, parallelistic structure of the Ugaritic epics.[96] Just as in the *Iliad* it is useful for metrical reasons for Homer to be able to refer either to Alexandros or Paris in a given part of the line, and just as the Hebrew Bible often uses synonymous names such as Jacob and Israel in various parallel structures,[97] so it seems possible to me that there may be a literary explanation for the variant use of names in the Pentateuch. I raise this simply as a possibility to be explored; I have not yet seen an attempt to apply this idea systematically to the variant proper names in the putative sources.[98]

Statistical Linguistics. In 1985 the results of the Genesis Project were published in English.[99] This project involved a combination of biblical studies, linguistics, statistics, and computer science in an analysis of the authorship of the book of Genesis, concluding that the book was a unified composition. As with chiasmus, informed Latter-day Saints are familiar with statistical linguistic studies due to their application to the Book of Mormon. I happened to be present at the BYU forum assembly where the initial results of Wayne A. Larsen's, Alvin C. Rencher's, and Tim Layton's study of computerized stylometry, or "wordprinting," of the Book of Mormon were presented, finding that the Book of Mormon was written by multiple authors as opposed to a single author.[100] That early work has been elaborated on by the late John L. Hilton, who went to great pains to immunize the methodology from criticism.[101] Wordprinting involves the measurement of

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95. E.g., Cassuto, *Documentary Hypothesis*, 15-26.

96. See Kevin L. Barney, "Poetic Diction and Parallel Word Pairs in the Book of Mormon," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 4, no. 2 (Fall 1995): 15-81.

97. J. Dahse, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 6 (1903): 305, as cited in Harrison, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, 30, demonstrates that it is impossible to use the names of Jacob and Israel as indications of different literary sources.

98. The basic observation is made, however, in Kikawada and Quinn, *Before Abraham Was*, 91-92.

99. Yehuda T. Radday and Haim Shore, et al., *Genesis: An Authorship Study in Computer-Assisted Statistical Linguistics* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1985).

100. See Larsen, Rencher, and Layton, "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon? An Analysis of Wordprints," *BYU Studies* 20 (Spring 1980): 225-51.

101. For a summary, see John L. Hilton, "On Verifying Wordprint Studies: Book of

non-contextual word rate usages of different authors and noting their statistical differences. The great hope and promise of wordprinting lies in the possibility of bringing a certain scientific "objectivity" to author identification and differentiation, a judgment that is otherwise profoundly subjective.

I remember being impressed by all of the charts and graphs used in that forum assembly. I am similarly impressed by those used since by Hilton, as well as those used in the Genesis Project. But while the charts look impressive, I have always felt that the basic assumptions underlying Book of Mormon wordprint studies are faulty. I concur in the assessment of John Tvedtnes, who points out that (1) an English translation should reflect the language of the translator more than that of the original author, and (2) the particles used in wordprint studies (such as "of") are often non-existent in Hebrew, which tends to use syntax to express the meaning of English particles.[102] An additional concern I have is with the naive assumption that speeches were perfectly transcribed. The reality, as seen in the work of such ancient historians as Herodotus and Josephus, is that such speeches were often composed by the historian himself as approximations of what the historical character would have said under the circumstances. Generally, historical speeches were not attended by court reporters making transcriptions of precisely what was said on the occasion.

Part of the problem with computerized stylometry is that the hoped for "objectivity" does not seem to have been achieved yet and may be unachievable. Yehuda Radday rejects the Documentary Hypothesis and so his team finds unity while other scholars who accept the hypothesis utilize statistical linguistics to find the very diversity they had expected to find all along.[103] It appears to me that there is still (unwitting) manipulation of the data going into the black box of the statistical construct (or unwitting manipulation of the statistical construct itself) so that the hoped for result indeed emerges from the other side. I frankly do not understand the statistics well enough to offer a useful critique of such studies. All I can do is report that I remain open minded about their possibilities, but I have not yet been convinced of their validity. As this fledgling bit of science develops, however, it does have the potential for making a legitimate contribution to the

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Mormon Authorship," in Noel B. Reynolds, ed., *Book of Mormon Authorship Revisited: The Evidence for Ancient Origins* (Provo: FARMS, 1997), 225-53.

102. John A. Tvedtnes in *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon* 6, no. 1 (1994): 33 [here critiquing Edward H. Ashment, "'A Record in the Language of My Father': Evidence of Ancient Egyptian and Hebrew in the Book of Mormon," in Brent Lee Metcalfe, *New Approaches to the Book of Mormon: Explorations in Critical Methodology* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1993), 329-93, but agreeing with Ashment on this point].

103. See the excellent comments of Shemaryahu Talmon, "A Bible Scholar's Evaluation," in *Genesis: An Authorship Study*, 225-35.

problem of the authorship of the Pentateuch. My own stance with regard to wordprinting is one of "watchful waiting."[104]

Canonical Criticism. In some quarters patience with the excavative techniques of the literary critics has worn thin. Some scholars, therefore, simply bracket the issue of historical origins and study the biblical text as it exists in its final form, sometimes taking a rather agnostic view of what can be known concerning the historical origins of the text. Illustrations of such an approach would include the work of Brevard Childs, Northrop Frye, and Robert Alter. I often do something similar. In my personal study and in preparing to teach in church classrooms, I often just take the Pentateuch as it comes. Nevertheless, I do think it is helpful to be aware of the Documentary Hypothesis and the issues surrounding it and, in appropriate circumstances, to engage it. My personal ideal in relation to the Documentary Hypothesis is to be "conservative but critically informed."[105]

Why I Accept the Hypothesis

Given the misgivings and cautions described above, one might marvel that I would still accept the Documentary Hypothesis at all. But I do, if only tentatively. Ironically, perhaps, it was my belief in the Book of Mormon that prepared me to be able to accept the hypothesis. The Book of Mormon explicitly reflects a very similar process—the redaction by Mormon and his son Moroni of multiple documentary sources (including the large plates of Nephi, the small plates of Nephi [incorporated *in toto*], the record of Zeniff, the record of Alma, letters, and the Jaredite record on the 24 gold plates).[106]

The best concise recitation of evidence for the hypothesis I have seen is Richard Friedman's article "Torah (Pentateuch)" in the *Anchor Bible Dictionary*;[107] my brief synopsis below is based on this source. The case for the Documentary Hypothesis rests on the convergence of several large bodies of data:

Doublets. A "doublet" is a single story that exists in two variant forms; sometimes three forms of the story are attested, which are then called "triplets." Doublets can occur in single-author works, but the sheer number of them in the Pentateuch seems to indicate a more complex history of com-

104. For a useful survey of such studies articulating common weaknesses, see A. Dean Forbes, "Statistical Research on the Bible," in David Noel Freedman, ed., *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 6:185-206.

105. I have adopted here David Noel Freedman's description of his teacher, William Foxwell Albright. See Harrison, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, 60.

106. Cf. Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible*, 110.

107. In 6:605-22. This article provides much greater detail than the brief summary provided here.

position.[108] I reread the Pentateuch a few months ago for an Old Testament class I was teaching, and I found the number of doublets I noticed on my own in the text to be striking. Doublets include:

1. The creation (Gen. 1:1-2:3 and 2:4b-25)
2. Genealogy from Adam (Gen. 4:17-26 vs. 5:1-28, 30-32)
3. The flood (Gen. 6:5-8; 7: 1-5, 7, 10, 12, 16b-20, 22-23; 8:2b-3a, 6, 8-12, 13b, 20-22 and 6: 9-22; 7:8-9, 11, 13-16a, 21, 24; 8 1-2a, 3b-5, 7, 13a, 14-19; 9:1-17)
4. Genealogy from Shem (Gen. 10:21-31 and 11:10-26)
5. Abraham's migration. (Gen. 12:1-4a and 12:4b-5)
6. Wife/sister accounts: a triplet (Gen. 12:10-20; 20:1-18, and 26: 6-14)
7. Abraham and Lot part company (Gen. 13:5, 7-11a, 12b-14, and 13:6, 11b-12a)
8. The Abrahamic covenant (Gen. 15 and 17)
9. Hagar and Ishmael: a triplet (Gen. 16:1-2, 4-14; 16:3, 15-16 and 21: 8-19)
10. Prophecy of the birth of Isaac (Gen. 17:16-19 and 18:10-14)
11. Naming of Beer Sheba (Gen. 21:22-31 and 26:15-33)
12. Jacob, Esau, and the departure to the east (Gen. 27:1-45; 28:10, and 26:34-35; 27:46; 28:1-9)
13. Jacob at Beth-El: a triplet (Gen. 28:10, 11a, 13-16, 19, and 28:11b-12, 17-18, 20-22, and 35:9-15)
14. Jacob's name changed to Israel (Gen. 32:25-33 and 35: 9-10)
15. Joseph sold into Egypt (Gen. 37:2b, 3b, 5-11, 19-20, 23, 25b-27, 28b, 31-35; 39:1, and 37:3a, 4, 12-18, 21-22, 24, 25a, 28a, 29-30)
16. Yahweh summons Moses: a triplet (Ex. 3:2-4a, 5, 7-8, and 3:1, 4b, 6, 9-15, and 6:2-12)
17. Moses and Pharaoh (Ex. 5:1-6:1; 7:14-18, 20b-21a, 23-29; 8:3b-11a, 16-28; 9:1-7, 13-34; 10:1-19, 21-26, 28-29; 11:1-9 and 7:10-13, 19-20a, 22b; 8:1-3a, 12-25; 9:8-12)
18. The Red Sea (Ex. 13:21-22; 14:5a, 6, 9a, 10b, 13-14, 19b, 20b, 21b, 24, 27b, 30-31 and 14:1-4, 8, 9b, 10a, 10c, 15-18, 21a, 21c, 22-23, 26-27a, 28-29)
19. Manna and quail in the wilderness (Ex. 16:2-3, 6-35a, and Num. 11:4-34)
20. Water from a rock at Meribah (Ex. 17:2-7 and Num. 20:2-13)

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108. The Book of Mormon also includes doublets and triplets. Critics usually argue that these are indications of a single author. We should consider the possibility, however, that, as in the case of the Pentateuch, they are actually an indication of multiple author composition.

21. Theophany at Sinai/Horeb: a triplet (Ex. 19:1-2a; 24:15b-18a, and 19:26-29, 16b-17, 19; 20:18-21, and 19:10-16a, 18, 20-25)
22. The Decalog: a triplet (Ex. 20:1-17, 34:10-28, and Deut. 5:6-18)
23. The spies (Num. 13:1-16, 21, 25-26, 32; 14:1a, 2-3, 5-10, 26-29, and 13:17-20, 22-24, 27-31, 33; 14:1b, 4, 11-25, 39-45)
24. Heresy at Peor (Num. 25:1-25 and 25:6-19)
25. Appointment of Joshua (Num. 27:12-23 and Deut. 31:14-15, 23)
26. Centralization of sacrifice (Lev. 17 and Deut. 12)
27. Forbidden animals (Lev. 11 and Deut. 14)

Terminology. Different passages use different vocabulary, including names for the deity and other proper names, as we have mentioned. What makes this significant is that *these differences of terminology fall consistently into one or another group of the doublets.* That is, one version of a story uses one set of names and terms, and the other uses another. Below are a few examples:

1. The names of the deity. Friedman points out that, though periodically challenged in scholarship, this variation remains a strong indication of authorship. J excludes the word "God" in narration, with perhaps one or two exceptions out of all the occurrences in the Pentateuch; P maintains its distinction of the divine names with one possible exception in hundreds of occurrences; E maintains the distinction with two possible exceptions.
2. Sinai (J and P) v. Horeb (E and D), as mentioned above.
3. The expression "the place where Yahweh sets his name" and its variants occur in D and E, but never in J or P.
4. *gw'* ["to die"]—11 occurrences in the Torah, all in P.
5. *ngp* ["plague"]—15 occurrences in the Torah, 14 of them in P.
6. *'eda* ["congregation"]—over 100 occurrences, all in P.
7. *nasi'* ["tribal leader"]—one occurrence in J, one in E, but 67 in P.

Friedman gives an additional 17 examples, which themselves comprise just the tip of the iceberg; scholars have assembled extensive lists of the language characteristics of the sources.

Contradictions. There are numerous contradictions in the text of the Torah, *which fall along the same lines as the doublets and terminology.* They include the following:

1. The order of creation in P (Gen. 1:1-2:3) is plants, animals, man, woman, but in J (Gen. 2:4b-25) is man, plants, animals, woman.
2. Seven pair of clean and one of unclean animals for J (Gen. 7:2, 3) vs. only one pair of each animal taken into the ark for P (Gen. 6: 19; 7:8, 9, 15).

3. The deity limits the life span of humans to 120 years in Gen. 6:3 (J), but many persons are reported thereafter to have lived longer than this—as in Gen. 9:29; 11:10-23, 32 (P).
4. Abraham moves from Ur to Haran and from Haran to Canaan (P). When Abraham is already in *Haran*, the deity tells him in Gen. 12:1 to "Leave your land and your birthplace" (i.e., *Ur*). Also, Abraham later sends his servant "to my land and my birthplace" to get Isaac a wife (Gen. 24:4), and the servant goes to *Haran*.
5. Bethlehem in Gen. 35:16-19 (E) vs. Paddan Aram in Gen. 35:23-26 (P) as Benjamin's birthplace.
6. In the E portion of Gen. 37, Reuben persuades his brothers not to kill Joseph; he plans to save him, but Midianites take him and sell him into slavery in Egypt. In the J portion, Judah persuades his brothers not to kill Joseph, and they sell him to Ishmaelites.
7. Jethro in Ex. 3:1, 18; 18:1-27 (E) vs. Reuel in Ex. 2:16-18; Num. 10:29 (J) as Moses' father-in-law (this could have been categorized as variant terminology).
8. In Ex. 6:3 (P), Yahweh tells Moses that his divine name was unknown to the patriarchs, but in the J texts of Genesis (such as Gen. 18:14; 24:3; 26:22; 27:20, 27; 28:16) the patriarchs do know his name.
9. Moses moves the Tent of Meeting outside the camp in Ex. 33:7-11 (E), but the Tent is not built until Ex. 36 (P). The tabernacle is erected inside the camp in Num. 2 (P), but is still outside the camp in Num. 12:4-15 (E).
10. When Moses quotes the Ten Commandments in Deuteronomy (D), there are numerous small differences in wording from the text in Ex. 20 (P), most strikingly the different reason given for the sabbath commandment in Ex. 20:11 (P) and Deut. 5:15 (D). Ex. 34:14-26 (J) has seven of the ten commandments completely different, and the wording still varies on the three comparable commandments.
11. In Num. 11 (E) the people are tired of eating only manna, and so they are fed birds, but in Ex. 16 (P) it is reported that they had been getting birds along with the manna from the beginning.
12. Caleb alone stands against the spies who give a discouraging report in Num. 13:30, 14:24 (J), but in Num. 14:6-9, 38 (P) it is both Caleb and Joshua.
13. The Amalekites reside with the Canaanites in the land in Num. 14:25, 45 (J), but they reside in the wilderness in Ex. 17:8-16.
14. Korah's congregation is swallowed by the earth, which closes over them, along with Dathan and Abiram in Num. 16:31-33 (J), but they are consumed by fire two verses later in 16:35 (P).
15. Moabite women seduce the Israelites in Num. 25:1 (J), but they are Midianite women in 25:6, 31:1-16 (P).

Other. We could go on at length setting forth the argument. Friedman gives an extensive list of consistent characteristics in each group of texts (for instance, there are no angels, no talking animals, no dreams, and no blatant anthropomorphisms in P). He describes 11 intertwined accounts that can be separated without creating breaks in the double narrative. For instance, the story of Dothan's and Abiram's rebellion against Moses flows as a complete story when separated from the story of Korah's rebellion. The only two clauses that merge the two stories—in Num. 16:24 and 27—appear to be editorial additions, as suggested by the fact that the extra words do not occur in the Septuagint. Friedman also gives lists of historical referents in the various sources, describes evidence suggesting the relationships among the sources, catalogs references in other biblical books (including allusions to P in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, suggesting P was already in existence at the time of the Exile), and points out marks of editorial work such as epanalepsis,[109] reconciling phrases, and framing devices. It is the convergence of all of these bodies of data that is the most powerful evidence for the Documentary Hypothesis.

The Hypothesis as an Aid in Scriptural Interpretation

Above we have suggested that the one-sided allusion in the Book of Mormon to the incident concerning the waters at Meribah makes more sense in light of the Documentary Hypothesis. Below we will offer seven additional examples showing how the hypothesis can shed light on LDS scripture.

The first four examples derive from the JST. In order to appreciate these examples, we must be able to apply an exegetical principle expressed by the Prophet Joseph himself: "I have [a] Key by which I understand the scripture[s]—I enquire what was the question which drew out the answer."[110] Sometimes when we read the JST, it is most helpful to focus

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109. Epanalepsis (or "resumptive repetition")—in which the author interrupts himself and then repeats material from before the interruption in order to resume his main point—can, of course, be a rhetorical device used by a single author. See Larry G. Childs, "Epanalepsis in the Book of Mormon," in John W. Welch, ed., *Reexploring the Book of Mormon: The FARMS Updates* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and FARMS, 1992), 165-66. The cases referred to by Friedman are more disjointed and seem to point towards redaction. For instance, in Ex. 6:12 Moses says, "How will Pharoah listen to me, when I am uncircumcised of lips?" Then follows an Israelite geneology, followed by a transitional summary of what had been said prior to the interruption. Then Moses says again in v. 30, "I am uncircumcised of lips, and how will Pharaoh listen to me?" This resumptive repetition appears to be an editor's mechanism for inserting a text into a pre-existing account and then returning to the flow of that account.

110. From the Joseph Smith Diary for January 29, 1843, kept by Willard Richards, in Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, *The Words of Joseph Smith* (Provo: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1980), 161.

on the question that gave rise to the textual modification rather than the specific, proposed answer to that question suggested by the JST. To illustrate, there are a number of Old Testament passages that portray the Lord as "repenting."[111] The JST invariably reworks such passages so that the subject of the verb is not the Lord, but some human or humans. These changes are meant to avoid the theological implications of portraying the Lord, who does not sin (and therefore should need no repentance), as "repenting." We know that this was Joseph's concern because this is one of the few places where he actually explained his rationale for emending the text: "As it [the Bible] read it repented the Lord that he had made man. and also God is not a man that he should repent—which I do not believe—but it repented Noah that God made man.—this I believe. & then the other quotation stands fair."[112] I submit that, if we put undue emphasis in Genesis 6:6 on Noah repenting, we risk misunderstanding the true import of the JST. The real point of the JST is not that Noah repented (which is simply a suggested resolution to the problem), but that the Lord did *not* repent. Understood in this way, we can see that in this particular passage the JST does not represent a restoration of text that was deleted from ancient Hebrew manuscripts; rather, the issue is one of proper translation of the received text. The Hebrew verb rendered "repent" in these KJV passages, *nicham*, means simply "to grieve" (without the heavy theological baggage of English "repent"). No modern translation uses the word "repent" in these passages. By emphasizing the question rather than the (tentative) solution, we can see that Joseph Smith's prophetic instincts were excellent in this matter: the Lord indeed does not "repent." If one is willing to read certain JST passages in this way, then the Documentary Hypothesis suggests that Joseph, on occasion, reacted to legitimate problems in the seams between the sources. Four illustrations follow:

An Anti-Moses Text: Was Moses Circumcised? Exodus 4:24-26 reads as follows:

> [24] And it came to pass by the way in the inn, that the LORD met him, and sought to kill him. [25] Then Zipporah took a sharp stone, and cut off the foreskin of her son, and cast it at his feet, and said, Surely a bloody husband art thou to me. [26] So he let him go: then she said A bloody husband thou art, because of the circumcision.

The JST modifies this text as follows (additions are italicized, deletions are struck through):

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111. E.g., Gen. 6:6; Ex. 32:12, 14; 1 Sam. 15:11; 1 Chron. 21:15; Jer. 26:19; Amos 7:3, 6; and Jonah 3:10.

112. Ehat and Cook, *Words of Joseph Smith*, 86 [from a discourse given October 15, 1843]. See also Barney, "Joseph Smith Translation and Ancient Texts," 85-86.

> [24] And it came to pass, *that the Lord appeared unto him as he was in* ~~by~~ the way, *by* ~~in~~ the inn. *The Lord was angry with Moses, and his hand was about to fall upon him* ~~that the LORD met him, and sought~~ to kill him; *for he had not circumcised his son.* [25] Then Zipporah took a sharp stone, and ~~cut off the foreskin of~~ *circumcised* her son, and cast ~~it~~ *the stone* at his feet, and said, Surely *thou art* a bloody husband ~~art thou~~ to me. [26] *And the Lord spared Moses and* ~~So he~~ let him go, *because Zipporah, his wife, circumcised the child. And* ~~then~~ she said, *Thou art* a bloody husband ~~thou art, because of the circumcision~~. *And Moses was ashamed, and hid his face from the Lord, and said, I have sinned before the Lord.*

The JST provides a reasonable explanation of this obscure incident. It gives the reason the Lord sought to kill Moses: Moses had not circumcised his son. It tastefully suggests that Zipporah threw the flint knife rather than her son's foreskin at Moses. And it makes explicit that the Lord spared Moses because Zipporah circumcised the child.[113]

There are, of course, other ways to read the passage. A possible alternative is to see Moses as becoming gravely ill at a resting place along the road. Zipporah interprets this illness as Yahweh's displeasure at Moses' own lack of circumcision. She circumcises their son with a flint knife and touches (KJV "cast" is erroneous) Moses' genitals with it ("feet" in the Old Testament is often a euphemism for the genitals), pronouncing Moses her "bridegroom of blood" (rather than the KJV's "bloody husband"). In effect, on this reading, Zipporah has performed a proxy ordinance of circumcision for the benefit of her ill husband, which the Lord recognizes. The expression "bridegroom of blood" is obscure, but it may have reference to the origins of circumcision rites, which were performed at puberty or marriage rather than in infancy.[114]

The JST is careful to ascribe the lack of circumcision only to Moses' son and not also to Moses himself.[115] Although the JST allows that Moses sinned in not circumcising his son, it protects him from the greater sin of not being circumcised himself, particularly in light of the requirement that one must be circumcised to partake of the Passover (see Ex. 12:48-49).

Why does Exodus contain a text with such a negative portrayal of Moses? The Documentary Hypothesis supplies an explanation. Although the sources considered both Moses and Aaron as great leaders from Israel's

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113. Otherwise, the JST simply makes explicit things that are implied in the text. For instance, the JST clarifies that the "he" in v. 26 is the Lord; the New English Translation does the same.

114. According to Genesis 17:25, Ishmael was circumcised at age 13. A Hebrew word for "father-in-law," *choten*, literally means "the circumciser." The 1979 LDS KJV footnote *ad loc.* suggests that there is covenant significance to the expression "bridegroom of blood"; I agree with this suggestion.

115. At least one commentator agrees with this reading; see J. R. Dummelow, ed., *The One Volume Bible Commentary* (New York: Macmillan, 1973), 53.

past, they reflected somewhat variant attitudes towards these leaders. Moses was the particular hero of E and D, which were meanwhile content to allow for the occasional denigration of Aaron in such stories as the golden calf and the leprosy of Miriam. In contrast, J and P were more pro-Aaron and willing to denigrate Moses as in the P account of the waters at Meribah (in Num. 20) or this account of the circumcision of Moses' son (J).

By protecting Moses in Exodus 4, the JST is partially harmonizing this J anti-Moses text to the more pro-Moses sentiments of E and D.

Was the Name "Yahweh" Known to the Patriarchs? Exodus 6:3 reads:

> And I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, by the name of God Almighty, but by my name JEHOVAH was I not known to them.

The JST revises this verse as follows:

> And I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob ~~by the name of~~. *I am the Lord* God Almighty; *the Lord* ~~but by my name~~ JEHOVAH. *And* was ~~I~~ not *my name* known ~~to~~ *unto* them?

This JST change turns on a classic contradiction that we have already identified. This P text reports that the patriarchs knew God by the name El Shaddai (the Hebrew here would be better transliterated as "El Shaddai" rather than translated, as the KJV does, into "God Almighty"). Yet J texts consistently use the name Yahweh (=KJV JEHOVAH) in the patriarchal narratives. The JST applies both names to God and, by cleverly turning a statement into a rhetorical question, suggests that the name Yahweh was indeed known to the patriarchs. In effect, the JST improves upon the deficient continuity between J and P reflected in this passage.[116]

Did Moses See God's Face? Exodus 33:20-23 read as follows:

> [20] And he said, Thou canst not see my face: for there shall no man see me, and live. [21] And the LORD said, Behold, there is a place by me, and thou shalt stand upon a rock: [22] And it shall come to pass, while my glory passeth by, that I will put thee in a clift of the rock, and will cover thee with my hand while I pass by: [23] And I will take away mine hand, and thou shalt see my back parts: but my face shall not be seen.

This P text is consistent with P's perspective against blatant anthropomorphisms. It is inconsistent, however, with other biblical passages where

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116. The Finnish Lutheran scholar Heikki Raissanen was deeply impressed by Joseph Smith's ability to discern problematic areas in the biblical text even without the benefit of critical scholarship. Among numerous other examples, he comments on the cleverness of Joseph's solution to the name of God problem in this passage. See Heikki Raissanen, "Joseph Smith und die Bibel: Die Leistung des mormonischen Propheten in neuer Beleuchtung," *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 109, no. 2 (February 1984): 81-92, at 84.

characters are portrayed as having spoken to God. For instance, v. 11 of this same chapter reports that "the LORD spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend." Once again, the JST resolves the problem by crafting an improved editorial seam:

> [20] And he said *unto Moses,* Thou canst not see my face *at this time, lest mine anger be kindled against thee also, and I destroy thee, and thy people*: for there shall no man *among them* see me *at this time,* and live, *for they are exceeding sinful. And no sinful man hath at any time, neither shall there be any sinful man at any time, that shall see my face and live. . . .*
>
> [23] And I will take away mine hand, and thou shalt see my back parts: but my face shall not be seen *as at other times; for I am angry with my people Israel.*

Note how the JST puts a temporal limitation on God being seen, due to his current anger. The JST clarifies that, as a general principle, it is *sinful* men that cannot see God and live.

Could Levites be Priests? In the context of the rebellion of Korah, Num. 16:10 reports the following words of Moses:

> And he hath brought thee near to him, and all thy brethren the sons of Levi with thee: and seek ye the priesthood also?

The JST emends "priesthood" to "high priesthood." If Levites already had the priesthood, why would they need to seek that priesthood? The JST by adding the adjective "high" is acknowledging that Levites did hold the priesthood.

In P only the sons of Aaron could be priests; Levites were simply helpers. In the other sources, the priesthood was not limited to the Aaronids, and all Levites could be priests. In this P text Moses supports Aaron's exclusive hold on the priesthood against Korah (Moses' and Aaron's cousin according to a P genealogy) and the other Levites. Therefore, once again the JST observes a contradiction between the sources and harmonizes that contradiction.

Were El and Yahweh One God or Two? One of the earliest Mormon assessments of the Documentary Hypothesis was offered by George Reynolds in 1881:

> Some writers have maintained that throughout Genesis . . . there are traces of two original documents at least, some claim more. These two documents are characterized by giving different names to God. In the one he is called Elohim and in the other Jehovah. It appears never to have entered into the thoughts of these writers that possibly two different heavenly personages were intended.[117]

117. Reynolds, "Thoughts on Genesis," as cited in Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible,* 111.

I believe that Reynolds makes a good point here, but that it cuts in precisely the opposite direction of what he intended. I view it as arguing in favor of the Documentary Hypothesis rather than against it. The problem with Reynolds's statement as it stands is that, canonically (that is, as the text reads today), it is abundantly clear that both Elohim and Jehovah are used to refer to the same God.[118] It is only when we look at the historical development of the canonical text that we begin to see clearly the origins of El and Yahweh as separate Gods.[119] Although such historical reconstruction might be possible without reference to the Documentary Hypothesis, in my view an application of that hypothesis greatly assists any such attempt at an historical analysis of the development and eventual convergence of these deities. Given the church's commitment to the principles set forth in "The Father and the Son: A Doctrinal Exposition by the First Presidency and the Twelve" (1916), I should think there would be at least some motivation to take the Documentary Hypothesis seriously, for once we do, Reynolds's statement then gains coherence.[120]

Were Multiple Sanctuaries Permitted? One of the first critics of the Book of Mormon, Alexander Campbell, noted that that book portrays temple worship as continuing in the New World, "when God's only house of prayer, according to his covenant with Israel, stood in Jerusalem."[121] This criticism has been repeated many times since, and has also been applied to the ongoing temple building program of the LDS church.

The first commandment of the Deuteronomic law code (see Deut. 12) was to sacrifice to God only in a single place. This principle was applied to the temple in Jerusalem, which became a significant feature of the religious reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah. This centralization law seems, however, to have been a religious innovation. There is no evidence that this was an

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118. For a demonstration of this point, see Boyd Kirkland, "Elohim and Jehovah in Mormonism and the Bible," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 19, no. 1 (Spring 1986): 77-93. Kirkland mentions the Documentary Hypothesis approvingly on p. 80, but I have not included his name in the table of Mormon reactions to the hypothesis because I cannot tell from this article whether he would fall under category 1, 2 or 3.

119. For an excellent introduction to such an historical reconstruction from an LDS perspective, see Daniel C. Peterson, "'Ye Are Gods': Psalm 82 and John 10 as Witnesses to the Divine Nature of Humankind," in Stephen D. Ricks, Donald W. Parry, and Andrew H. Hedges, *The Disciple as Scholar: Essays on Scripture and the Ancient World in Honor of Richard Lloyd Anderson* (Provo: FARMS, 2000), 471-594.

120. We should be clear that the current LDS practice of equating God the Father with "Elohim" and God the Son with "Jehovah" is a modern convention, which does not necessarily match biblical or 19th-century LDS usage.

121. Alexander Campbell, *Delusions: An Analysis of the Book of Mormon with an Examination of its Internal and External Evidences, and a Refutation of its Pretences to Divine Authority* (Boston: Benjamin H. Greene, 1832), reprinted from *The Millennial Harbinger* 2 (February 1831): 85-96, in "Internal Evidences" no. 4.

ancient Israelite law; indeed, Samuel, Saul, David, and Solomon all sacrificed at various altars without reproach.[122]

That the sources varied with respect to issues such as centralization of sacrifice can be illustrated by the references made to the tabernacle. The tabernacle is mentioned three times in E and never in J or D, but over 200 times in P. Critics of a fundamentalist bent assume that the Bible speaks with one voice on the required centrality of worship in the Jerusalem Temple, but it does not. Given that Lehi was of the tribe of Manasseh, that his family came from the north, and that there may be special prominence of E among the brass plates, it is hardly surprising that Lehi and his family did not accept the centralization of sacrifice at the *southern* site in the temple at Jerusalem, which a cynic might suggest only served to support the influence and income of the Jerusalem Temple priests (one of whom discovered the book of the law [associated with D] in the temple).

Were Non-Aaronid Offerings Permitted? Campbell similarly expressed surprise[123] that Lehi, who was not a Levite, would make an offering, as reflected in 1 Nephi 2:7: "And it came to pass that he [Lehi] built an altar of stones, and made an offering unto the Lord, and gave thanks unto the Lord our God." As we have seen, the sources differed on this issue. In P only the sons of Aaron are priests and the other Levites are low level helpers, while in the other sources all Levites could be priests. Beyond that, Jereboam in the north appointed non-Levite priests at Beth-El. The Old Testament records numerous non-Levitical offerings. Gideon and Samuel were Ephraimites; Saul was a Benjamite; David and Solomon were of Judah.

The contradiction Campbell sees is not with a unified Old Testament, but with P. Sacrifices are never portrayed in P prior to the consecration of the tabernacle and priesthood in Exodus 40, and then only by Aaron and his sons. This unique perspective of P can be illustrated by a contradiction we have noted in connection with the story of Noah's ark. According to J, Noah took seven pair of clean and one pair of unclean animals onto the ark (Gen. 7:2-3), but according to P he only took one pair of each animal (Gen. 6:19; 7:8-9, 15). The reason for this discrepancy is that, according to J (Gen. 8:20-21), when the flood was over Noah built an altar and offered sacrifices of the clean animals. If he had not brought more than one pair of such animals, these sacrifices would have wiped out each species sacrificed. In P, however, Noah never offered sacrifice; therefore, only one pair of each species was necessary. While it is true that Lehi's sacrifice would have been anathema from the perspective of P, from a northern perspective it was perfectly appropriate.

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122. See Friedman, *Who Wrote the Bible?*, 102. Dozeman also mentions this point (97).
123. See Campbell, *Delusions*, "Internal Evidences" no. 1.

Conclusion

The Documentary Hypothesis has resulted in a spectrum of Mormon reactions over the last century. The original liberal position of enthusiastic acceptance has largely given way to a still more liberal position that follows higher criticism even to the rejection of historical faith claims (category 1). The conservative position (category 6) rejects critical scholarship as in large measure evil; most Saints, however, do not know about the theory and simply make traditional assumptions. In the middle are those who accept the value of scholarship generally but reject many of its conclusions in this case as well as those who, like me, tentatively do accept the theory.

Mormons who accept the Documentary Hypothesis must face the issues of the source of the Pentateuch's prophetic authority if Moses did not write it as well as the fundamental incompatibility of the hypothesis with a doctrine of scriptural inerrancy. Although Mormons share these issues with other Christians and Jews, they also face issues relating to their own modern scripture. I have suggested that, if (as I believe) the sources are pre-Exilic, the Book of Mormon actually meshes very well with the hypothesis. Abraham 4-5 would seem to require a "loose" reading in light of the hypothesis. Perhaps the biggest obstacle to a Latter-day Saint's acceptance of the hypothesis is the very common assumption that the Book of Moses/JST is a pure textual restoration. If one is willing to apply a more eclectic reading to that scripture, then it is possible for a faithful Mormon to accept the hypothesis.

My misgivings over accepting the hypothesis include the role played at one time by anti-Catholic and anti-Semitic polemic in its formulation, the unfortunate influences of Hegelian philosophy and the extremes of Enlightenment rationalism, the academic politics involved in requiring young scholars to accept the theory in order to be able to pursue meaningful careers in academe, and the extreme confidence scholars often place in the highly detailed results of source criticism.

We have also described some reasons for caution. Archaeological considerations have caused some high profile scholars to change their minds and reject the hypothesis. We need to understand that we are not just talking about four documents; not only did those documents use prior written sources, but even the earliest sources were preceded by a long period of oral tradition. We have described the long parallel development between biblical and Homeric scholarship, which was broken in the middle of the 20th century. Literary structures have the potential to provide an alternate explanation for the phenomena underlying the hypothesis. Statistical linguistics may have the potential to make a significant contribution to the issue of a unified vs. multiple authorship of the Pentateuch, a potential not as yet fully realized. Finally, in recent years there has been something of a trend back towards canonical criticism; that is, simply studying the Pentateuch as it exists in its final form.

These misgivings and cautions notwithstanding, I do accept the Documentary Hypothesis. In my view, the evidence favoring the hypothesis is stronger than most people realize. It is not just a question of different sections using different names for God, which seems to be the popular conception. Rather, there are numerous doublets and triplets in the text. Extensive lists of terminology, contradictions, and other textual characteristics fit consistently into one or another of the matching stories of the doublets. There are also other indications of redaction, which have been assembled by scholars over a very long period of time.

If one does not insist on a fundamentalist or inerrantist approach to the scriptures, the Documentary Hypothesis actually provides some fascinating insights into Mormon scripture as I have attempted to illustrate by a number of examples.

So where do we go from here with respect to the issue of Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch? The present article notwithstanding, I believe that for the foreseeable future the great majority of the membership of the church will continue to fall under category 5 and make traditional assumptions about the composition of the Pentateuch. The founding of an array of LDS publications with a scholarly orientation over the past quarter century has greatly benefitted the liberal and centrist positions; I expect those positions to continue to see modest growth over time. Conversely, the authority of category 6 largely derives from the ecclesiastical prestige of its adherents. Now that church leaders no longer rail against the Documentary Hypothesis over the pulpit, I anticipate that category 6 may see a modest decrease in influence over time.

Whatever the future may hold for continuing LDS interaction with the Documentary Hypothesis, I do believe that we need have no fear of the hypothesis. In my view, the correctness of that theory in its general outlines would by no means entail the incorrectness of the restored gospel of Jesus Christ.

Joseph to Emma

Emma Lou Thayne

Out of the night of holy election,
Out of the silence, the eloquent silence
Only believing whispers to me:
Follow the guiding of soul-felt selection,
Knowing by wisdom and innocence
A seeing far higher than eye can see.

Oh, Beloved, know of your holy election—
Lady, elect are you to be.
Lady, first lady, my youthful selection
Will bind us like bark to the tree.

In ages, in others,
In joy and despair
My life lies within you,
Your soul holds me there.
The God who rescues from dark and confusion
Will carry you, light you by holy election
You, Emma, be mindful of loving selection.

Be mindful, be faithful,
Stay, Emma, stay.

Wisdom Traditions in the Hebrew Bible

Carole R. Fontaine

Introduction

Practical advice on farming, choosing a wife, table manners at court, as well as speculations on the nature of divine justice and the mysteries of nature—these are just a few of the topics which are covered in the wisdom books of the Hebrew Bible. Together, Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs represent the work of the elite bureaucrats ("wise men") and teachers who kept alive vigorous oral traditions of the villages of the tribal and monarchic periods of early Israel. They served as some of the theologians and editors who brought the people's literature together for preservation during the Exilic and post-Exilic periods. It is to them that we owe a debt that the "little things" of life, the day-to-day knowledge of God's blessings in the world, were retained along with the sweeping stories of liberation and peoplehood.

The wisdom books are part of the third division of the Hebrew Bible (HB), that are known as "Ketuvim," or "Writings." While so much of the HB is taken to represent *God's* words to humanity, the Writings give us another way to understand scripture—when we find the words of *people* back to God are also understood to be "inspired." Both are valued and find their place in the canon, for each is necessary if the people are to know their own story. Wisdom differs from much of the Bible, however, not only in style (poetry predominates over prose) but in content as well. Some of these differences might have their origin in the fact that Israel's wisdom literature was modeled upon that of her surrounding neighbors: in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Anatolia, the writings of court diplomats, scribes, teachers, and counselors operating out of temple schools or court bureaucracies had created a body of knowledge from the earliest times. Israel's wisdom can often be shown to draw directly on knowledge of such traditions through its incorporation of forms, themes, and stories found in the "parallel" literature of these great civilizations.

Hence, we find that wisdom literature does not speak in quite the same tongue as its companions of Torah and Former Prophets. God appears in wisdom literature as the Creator and Sustainer of the natural world; the Redeemer of the Exodus and Exile is a less important metaphor for the divine in the wisdom traditions. Further, the notion of Israel as the "special" or elected people, chosen by God for a special destiny, is largely absent from these books although the piety of the covenanted community undergirds and serves as a backdrop for most of wisdom's teachings. The sages believed in the goodness of created life and that one could find (or impose) an order on one's experiences which would allow a prosperous, full life. Optimistic (at least in the Book of Proverbs), these biblical teachers believed that people *could* learn, make informed choices, and live in harmony with their creator. This initial perspective was modified by the trauma of the Exile and the loss of nationhood, and some of the most profound soul-searching questions about the meaning of these events and the life that followed them are to be found in the Books of Job and Ecclesiastes.[1] The sages' view of wisdom mutates over time in the aftermath of their people's sufferings and restored fortunes: personified Wisdom who appears as something of a Scribal Goddess, Female Scold, and loving Mother/Sister/Bride in Proverbs becomes deeply hidden in Job, and largely absent or irrelevant in Ecclesiastes. We hear the echo of her voice again with the Song of Song's triumphant celebration of embodied love in the midst of a fruitful creation. It is no wonder that the earliest Christian communities viewed Jesus as a Wisdom Sage, speaking in proverbs and parables, sent as a prophet of Wisdom/Sophia, and beloved Bridegroom of the soul.[2]

Proverbs

The oldest of the wisdom books in that it incorporates both tribal oral materials as well as monarchic collections of teachings, Proverbs sets the tone for the wisdom category of the Writings. Officially the book is attributed to Solomon, but analysis of the internal structure and vocabulary suggests that this is a traditional ascription rather than a factual one. Solomon, as patron of wisdom teachers and master of great personal wisdom, becomes a root figure for wisdom literature, just as his father David does for the Psalms (although we know not all psalms were composed or even used

1. Roland E. Murphy, *The Tree of Life: An Exploration of Biblical Wisdom Literature*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1990, 1996), 1-14, 111-50; James L. Crenshaw, *Old Testament Wisdom: An Introduction*, rev. and enlarged (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox, 1998), 1-54, 205-28; Gerhard von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1972); Dianne Bergant, *Israel's Wisdom Literature: A Liberation-Critical Reading* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1997).

2. Elizabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *Jesus: Miriam's Child, Sophia's Prophet* (New York: Continuum, 1994).

by David). This official "fiction" of Solomonic authorship carries through the material; the tradition holds that when Solomon was a young man, he composed the Song of Songs; when in his middle years, he wrote the Book of Proverbs; and in old age, he spoke as Ecclesiastes. While this view of authorship does not hold up to critical scrutiny, it *does* accurately reflect the changing tone in these biblical books.

Proverbs contains material which is very late (Prov. 1-9, 30-31)—clearly reflecting the concerns and social locations of the postExilic community—forming a circle around the earlier material in the proverb collections (chaps. 10-29), which also display their own arrangements by theme or time frame. Scholars speculate that some of the earlier proverbs probably circulated first in oral form and originated in the concerns of village life of the tribes and early monarchy, but confirmation of any individual form as originally oral is difficult.[3] The most basic literary form found in the book is the "mashal" or proverb—two-line sayings clearly reflecting an attempt at literary shaping, and whose metaphorical associations allowed for applying its insight to a variety of social situations. Such sayings usually occur in poetic parallelism, with the second line restating or furthering the thought of the first, often by way of contrast. For example, in Prov 10:5, we read:

A son who gathers in summer is prudent,
but a son who sleeps in harvest brings shame. (RSV)

Contrast this with Prov 10:15:

A rich man's wealth is his strong city;
the poverty of the poor is their ruin.

While each proverb offers an implicit judgment on which situation is preferable, it should be noted that the basic data presented are drawn from observations which anyone might make just by paying attention to the ways of the world. In wisdom studies, this dynamic is known as the "act-consequence" relationship: every deed contains the seed of its own outcome. Good and diligent works produce good consequences, and there is a general sense of the harmony between action and result, which a person may trust. It is this very connection, which forces the wisdom tradition to reexamine its foundational beliefs when the fate of the people of God offers a direct challenge to wisdom's naive assumption of a routine correspondence between goodness and good fortune. While this earlier reliance on act-consequence could cause the wisdom of Proverbs to seem a staunch supporter of the status quo—as though the poor deserved to be poor, and the rich had merited their blessings—the thinkers speaking in Job and Ecclesiastes will point out that things are not quite as easy to categorize as all that.

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3. Murphy, 15-32; Crenshaw, 55-88; Carole R. Fontaine, *Traditional Sayings in the Old Testament: A Contextual Study* (Sheffield, U.K.: Almond Press, 1982); Claus Westermann, *Roots of Wisdom* (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox, 1995).

Beyond the basic form of the two-line saying, we find other forms employed in Proverbs, especially the later materials in chapters 1-9 and at the end of the book. Here we see unified compositions which go on for several stanzas: wisdom poems (celebrating wisdom's excellence, or with Wisdom, personified as female, speaking in first person), instructions (teachings directed from father to son, based on Egyptian models), numerical sayings, admonitions, and prohibitions. These larger compositions are clearly put together with a frank desire to teach and challenge youth to pick the right path; they depart from the simple observations of the village world and press their readers/hearers (largely male in antiquity) to choose wisely in a way approved by their elders and the weight of tradition. This is nicely summed up in the introductory lines to the book, which function almost as a modern "course syllabus" might:

The proverbs of Solomon, son of David, king of Israel:
That men may know wisdom and instruction, understand words of insight,
receive instruction in wise dealing, righteousness, justice, and equity;
that prudence may be given to the simple, knowledge and discretion to the youth—the wise man also may hear and increase in learning, and the man of understanding acquire skill,
to understand a proverb and a figure, the words of the wise and their riddles.
The fear of the LORD is the beginning of knowledge;
fools despise wisdom and instruction. (1:1-7; RSV)[4]

In these statements, "fear of the Lord" clearly means more than simple fear. It reflects instead an attitude of awe and obedience in relationship to the eternal source of Israel's strength and historical deliverance. "Fear of the Lord" is a favorite expression in Deuteronomy where it acts as a sort of "cover" term for all of Hebrew religion and carries the explicit requirement of obedience to the Laws of the Torah. Our sages, however, mean even more than that when they invoke this idea at the outset of their teachings. For the wisdom tradition, "fear/awe of the Lord" is *also* the proper intellectual attitude to foster in one's students and oneself. A firm grounding in faith is the clear prerequisite for any intellectual or practical endeavor. In this world view, "foolishness" means more than ignorance; it implies an outright flaunting or rejection of the moral order of the world, seeded into its structure by the Creator.

One of the most foolish things one can do, according to Proverbs' teachings, is to ignore or trivialize the teachings and presence of Lady

4. I select the RSV as preferred translation here because, despite the modern sensitivity to the need for inclusive translations, wisdom literature is composed by males, aimed at a male audience, and revolves around male-identified concerns.

Wisdom. This extraordinary figure appears at the beginning of the book in almost celestial dress: She calls out in public places (normally reserved for men) in the strong tones of an angry prophet or scolding mother. Her claims are many: that she was God's first acquisition at the time of creation; that she was brought forth ("given birth to") by God and served as the master principle (plan) or artisan (co-creator) for the work of creation. All rulership is based on knowledge of her; all good things are in her hands to bestow on those who honor her. In all, she promises "life"—something that normally only God or Messiah can deliver—as well as success to those who take her seriously; of those who do not, she says she will scorn them on their day of distress, just as they scorned her outstretched hand (Prov. 1-9).

It goes without saying that this female figure is a rather striking departure from the ancient world's entrenched patriarchy in which the societies of the Bible took part. Here is a poetic figure who is certainly *more* than human and also clearly female. Do we see here the beginning of a chink in the armor of exclusion whereby patriarchy assigns most public, high-status roles to men and sees women as primarily breeders and household managers who advance men's lives? In fact, Lady or Woman Wisdom did not emerge fully grown out of nowhere like Athene, another goddess of wisdom, leaping from the brow of Zeus. Not only did surrounding cultures have scribal goddesses who served as protectors of the scribal guild, but Israel itself worshipped the (probably Canaanite in origin) goddess Asherah in the Jerusalem temple as the legitimate consort of God. This mother-goddess, often imaged in fertility terms or as a sacred tree/pole from which creatures fed (strongly reminiscent of the "Tree of Life" motif used for Lady Wisdom), is known to scholars of the Late Bronze Age from her appearances in Ugaritic epics where she is the consort of the high god El. Beyond these probable associations, the figure of Lady Wisdom offers a fresh incarnation of the strong and devoted women who people the Torah and historical books with their crafty, formidable participation in seeing to it that God's promises to the people are realized. The poem praising the "Strong Woman" (or: "Good Wife"; "Woman of Worth") in Prov. 31 amply demonstrates the central role that such female matriarchs played in the well-being of their families. It calls to mind the mothers of the faith, and that poem's link to terminology used for Lady Wisdom invites us to interpret that literary figure through the dual lens of divine and human modalities. It is certainly true that biblical societies shared the same patriarchal expectations, good and evil, about their female populations and that these might very well be dismissed as male propaganda for insuring the second-class citizenship of women in the household of faith. It is nevertheless important to recognize that the roles projected onto Lady Wisdom reflect a view of the female as strong, effective, intelligent, and noble. Though She is a patriarchally subordinated figure, Lady Wisdom is a key figure for establishing

the essential dignity and worth of Her human daughters and ought not to be overlooked, however uncomfortable Her presence may make those who insist that monotheism is the hallmark of the Hebrew Bible.[5]

The Book of Job

No other book in the Hebrew Bible has as many scholarly disputes about its date, nature, and meaning as this astonishing piece of high poetry.[6] The piece has no fully conclusive date or life-setting: scholars generally date it to the period of the Babylonian Exile or the Persian Restoration based on the topic, but it contains materials which are both early (the ancient Near Eastern folktale about the Righteous Sufferer in chapters 1-2, 42:7-17) and late (the Hebrew of the Elihu speeches in chaps. 27-32 clearly differs from the bulk of the work). If the book is designed to respond to the social conditions of the Exilic or post-Exilic community, its response is certainly quite subtle since no explicit mention of either event is found in the text (12:13-25). Indeed, the hero Job is an Edomite desert chieftain and not a Jew at all—perhaps a strategy to allow his blasphemous complaints against God (e.g., 9:22-24, etc.) to go uncensored by pious audiences.

The text as we have it explores, from a more-or-less[7] monotheistic point of view, the problems of undeserved suffering and knowledge of divine ways posed already by both Egyptian and Mesopotamian cultures well before the final editing of Job in the genre broadly known as "problem literature." But no easy answers are available to salve the traditional theologies of the Babylonian captives, the cream of their society (Job was "greatest of all the sons of the East"), or of the "restored" but dazed pioneers of the Persian period attempting to rebuild their lives and their temple under new

5. Claudia Camp, *Wisdom and the Feminine in the Book of Proverbs* (Sheffield, U.K.: Almond Press, 1985); Carole R. Fontaine, "The Social Roles of Women in the World of Wisdom," in Athalya Brenner, ed., *A Feminist Companion to Wisdom Literature* (Sheffield, U.K.: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 24-49; Bernhard Lang, *Wisdom and the Book of Proverbs* (New York: Pilgrim Press, 1986); Judith M. Hadley, "From Goddess to Literary Construct: The Transformation of Asherah into Hokmah," in Athalya Brenner and Carole Fontaine, eds., *A Feminist Companion to Reading the Bible: Approaches, Methods, Strategies* (Sheffield, U.K.: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 360-99; Gerlinde Baumann, "A Figure with Many Facets: The Literary and Theological Functions of Personified Wisdom in Proverbs 1-9," in Athalya Brenner and Carole Fontaine, eds., *A Feminist Companion to Wisdom and Psalms* (Second Series) (Sheffield, U.K.: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 44-78.

6. Most of the words in the Hebrew Bible which appear only once (hapax legomena) are to be found in the Book of Job. Translations for them vary widely, depending on the scholarly strategy used for their proposed definitions. For readable introductions to the book, see Murphy, 33-47; Crenshaw, 89-115; Norman Habel, *The Book of Job*, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1985); J. Gerald Janzen, *Job* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1985).

7. See note 8.

overlords and despite the none-too-enthusiastic population they had left behind. Their sufferings could not be blamed on hostile demons[8] nor an aggressive pantheon seeking to overthrow its high god: both good and evil *must* come from the hands of the One Lord with whom the Jewish community still believed itself to be in a covenant relationship. This is the poignant message of the "patient" Job of the folktale Prologue: "Naked I came from my mother's womb, and naked shall I return; the LORD gave, and the LORD has taken away; blessed be the name of the LORD" (1:21); a position he continues to elaborate after a second series of disasters strikes him in Job 2:10b, "Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?" Indeed. That is the question.

The irony of the book is heightened by the fact that the audience, which has been given the folktale "set-up" for the heavenly contest over the "disinterested" nature of human faith, actually knows *more* about what is happening to Job than do any of the human characters. In effect, the reader/hearer shares the hidden knowledge of Heaven: however much Job may wonder what on earth—or in hell—is happening to his successful life, we the audience *know* that what follows is a test, albeit a hideous one, yet one in which Job's ultimate survival is not at stake (1:12; 2:6). If it seems as though we are eavesdropping on a cosmic experiment where the scientists are placing side-bets on the lab rats, we are not far off the mark.[9]

The structure of the book is designed to suggest to the readers/hearers that there is no *one* answer to the problem of divine deeds and human suffering. The dialogue found in the center section of the "sandwich" arrangement, framed as it is by the pious folktale, gives us a very different portrait of Job, which is at odds with that of the folktale, and this strategy allows the poet to delve into the various responses to affliction. The friends, like those in Mesopotamian texts, put forward various views from traditional theological thinking: that suffering is a just punishment for sin, that no one can be held blameless when judged by divine standards, that torment may be sent as a test, a cleansing ritual for reconciliation or a warning. They suspect that Job could only be experiencing such misfortune if he *had* actually sinned: for them the act leads infallibly to the consequence. These speakers for tradition counsel their friend to seek God, repent, and be restored—and once again the author makes deft use of irony, for in the last chapters this is exactly what Job will do! In the interim, however, Job rejects all these explanations as inadequate to explain the extremity of his

8. Although the book is usually held to be a monotheistic work, the ambivalent figure of the Satan who, while not co-equal to God, is nonetheless able to challenge and manipulate this divine Creator, suggests to the present writer that not all polytheistic questions have been resolved by the community. The dualism of these good and evil divine figures is usually explained as Persian influence.

9. Edwin M. Good, *In Turns of Tempest* (Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press, 1990).

torment, especially given the "good" life he has led up until these wretched turns of fortune. Neither Job nor the friends experience any conflict in looking at the workings of divine justice for the *guilty*: it is the innocent, who pose the special problem the book takes up. But not only is this problem without evident solutions, it leads to an even worse conundrum: can human beings *ever know* what the Holy One is doing? If not, how can they hope to please God? If so, *what* has happened to Job? The audience knows that the God of the folktale has already "tagged" Job as most righteous, obedient, and exemplary and has selected him for the test for this very reason. And so they are stuck, like Job, with questions about the nature of the God who is "in charge."

The language of the Joban dialogues is one of the most brilliant examples of ancient Hebrew poetry, filled with nuance, the astonishing beauties of nature, and evidence of the superlative learning of its author. Where the folktale was gauche and somewhat plodding with its regular scene changes between Earth, Heaven, and back again, the poet takes us to the farthest reaches and depths of creation, from the times when the heavenly court celebrated the founding of the earth to the torrents of rain that can wake a dead tree.[10] With Job, we search the ways of humans with each other, their land, and their God. Job's despair at his friends' tried-but-untrue answers to his plight forces him to look to the natural world for companionship and drives him towards God in a final confrontation that has been foreshadowed in Job's angry challenges of chapters 9-13. Will he be able to "speak truth to power" in such a circumstance? God is no man to be confronted in court or restrained by a judge; Job suspects he would be so overwhelmed in such a meeting that he would wind up condemning himself under the awesome pressure of a god who seems more like a whirlwind than a Redeemer. In the language of lament so familiar from the psalms, Job raises his voice and his hopes, but doubts that either will do him any good. The poet's strategy at this point is both subtle and brilliant: even captives or restorees would not have experienced the full sweep of Job's misfortunes, but by invoking the language of the psalms of the cult through which one brought one's troubles to God, the poet makes Job into someone with whom every person can identify, whether or not he (or she) is the greatest of the children of the east. Though Job is foreign, the poet has made of him a "hometown" hero whose personal suffering can be seen as emblematic of a whole society. Mesopotamian pessimism about the nature of the squabbling gods comes full up against the covenants of Israel: if humans are supposed to "play by the rules," then so is God!

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10. Carole R. Fontaine, "Wounded Healer on a Shaman's Quest: Job in the Context of Folk Literature" in Leo Perdue and W. Clark Gilpin, eds., *The Voice from the Whirlwind: Interpreting the Book of Job* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1992), 70-85.

The turning point in the book occurs in chapter 31 where Job takes a ritual, cultically inspired[11] "oath of innocence" about his behavior prior to his afflictions. His statements cover everything from personal morality to his conduct as a landowner and religious leader. Job states in the most powerful ways possible in his culture that he is wholly innocent of any charges against him which might have resulted in this dreadful treatment at the hands of the Divine Judge. Such a magico-ritual affirmation of innocence is designed to provoke a heavenly audience, which it does: Job has made his defense so effectively that God *must* appear to refute, confound, or ratify it.

Before God's appearance, however, we find a section featuring a new character, Elihu the Buzite, in chapters 27-32. Bearing the only genuinely Hebrew name in the book—"He is my God"—Elihu is a curious addition, and scholars debate whether this unit was original to the Joban composition which linked the poetic sections to an older folktale. The Hebrew of these monologues is clearly a later form than that found elsewhere in the book, and many point out that Elihu only restates what the other friends have already said, adding nothing new on his own. Further, he is an incongruous character for the time and place of the book's origin, since young persons clearly did not have the experience to lecture the old on the nature of life and divine justice. When we add this to the clear foreshadowing in Elihu's speeches of the whirlwind about to descend upon Job, some have suggested that these speeches were added to the book later as an afterthought by some pious editor who felt that God's position needed to be restated, because the god of the Divine Speeches says precious little in answer to the questions raised by Job's complaints.

The Divine Speeches of 38-42 mirror the composition of the earlier scenes in the folktale: two speeches match the two separate divine audiences and afflictions of Job, just as the Epilogue of the folktale will give us two separate restoration scenes. While the character of God opens with a direct challenge to Job to give an account of himself for his accusations against the Creator ("Who is this that darkens counsel by words without knowledge? Gird up your loins like a man, I will question you, and you shall declare to me," 38:2-3), for some critics this is the last relevant thing that God will say. Rather than answering Job, God recedes back into the mysteries of the primal creation and the hidden, ongoing Providence which sustains all life on the planet: interesting, even beautifully profound, but hardly an answer for Job's challenge. Drawing on the encyclopedia-like "lists" (onomastica) of the wisdom of Egypt and a scribal style of catechism designed to humiliate and educate a younger colleague, God questions Job's knowledge of the principles of the world's architecture, the ways of

11. Readers may consult chapter 125 of the Egyptian *Book of the Dead* for a similar piece of literature with the same function of declaring one's innocence in an incontrovertible way.

the constellations, the origin of meteorological phenomena, and the sustenance of the animal and plant worlds. The implication is that only one who knows such things should have the temerity and right to challenge God's management of human society, and Job is clearly *not* "in the know". As Job had predicted earlier, this God of Creation overwhelms him with detail, but says nothing directly to the point. Still, the angle of focus in the Divine Speeches and their response to Job *does* convey a message that goes well beyond the scribal schoolroom where abstract theological problems might be debated: by speaking of creation and *not* of humanity, the God of the whirlwind shows, through form *and* content, that humanity is *not* at the center of God's concerns, but is only a part of the whole. God's self-defense is this, then: humans who do not see the *whole* system should not judge a small part of it on piecemeal evidence. Job responds: "Behold, I am of small account; what shall I answer thee? I lay my hand on my mouth. I have spoken once, and I will not answer; twice, but I will proceed no further." (40: 4-5). His answer is noncommital and apparently none too satisfying either, since the Divine Voice feels compelled to open up another round of rebuttal.

The second set of speeches moves into portraits of larger-than-life, mythically drawn animals who defy human control or understanding: Behemoth, the hippopotamus who is lord of his river, and Leviathan, the mighty fleeing serpent or crocodile. These more unified compositions use language to describe these great, wild creatures which had been used earlier to describe Job in his "princely" roles. Unlike Job, these creatures do not challenge God even when they might have some cause—perhaps setting an implicit example God would like Job to follow. The completion of the divine menagerie gives rise to Job's second response to God:

> Then Job answered the LORD:
> "I know that thou canst do all things, and that no purpose of thine can be thwarted.
> 'Who is this that hides counsel without knowledge?' Therefore I have uttered what I did not understand, things too wonderful for me, which I did not know.
> 'Hear, and I will speak; I will question you, and you declare to me.'
> I had heard of thee by the hearing of the ear, but now my eye sees thee;
> therefore I despise myself, and repent in dust and ashes." (RSV, 42:1-6)

Does Job really repent here, or are we being treated to yet more irony by an author who toys with his audience just as God and Satan toyed with Job? Scholars and religious authorities are divided—yet again!—on this point. Those who speak for traditional religious readings of Job's character, finding him patient and pious (even in chaps. 3-31!), tend to favor a reading which sees true repentance in Job's response. The Divine Presence is so

potent, so compelling, that Job understands himself not as a prince but as a meaningless worm, a creature condemned to grovel in the dirt before its Maker—and worms have no right of appeal. Thus, the patient Job is re-inscribed as a model of faith for suffering communities, and the ironic twists of Job's earlier predictions are muted within this interpretation.

Close readers of the text may suspect that something else is going on with respect to Job's "change of heart" in his final response to God. The possibility that Job is ironically and sarcastically giving an inauthentic response to an inauthentic God cannot be overlooked, given the author's care to have Job predict exactly this outcome. Further, of what is Job actually repenting, if that is indeed what he is doing? As late as chapter 31, he is still maintaining his relative integrity in the matter at hand; lamenting to God is no sin and is in fact recommended by Israel's religion. Even challenges to God's plans are not unheard of in the people's experience: Abraham begged for the life of the righteous of Sodom (Gen 18); Moses softened God's anger against the whining of the former slaves in the wilderness. Does Job repent of simply being human, one of the meanings of "dust and ashes" which highlights the imagery of human mortality? Or does he repent for even bothering to think that God would answer him in useful, understandable terms? Each possible interpretation can be argued with some degree of legitimacy.

In fact, it is possible to read Job's final comment, "I had heard of thee by the hearing of the ear, but now my eye sees thee; *therefore* I *despise myself*, and *repent* in *dust and ashes*," in a way which deviates from the standard translation, but does so simply by considering alternative meanings of the Hebrew words used. Job speaks about charges he made against a god whom he knew through theological "hearsay" and not direct experience; that situation is now changed for him, because he has finally encountered the real god who is the Sustainer of Life. The use of "therefore" in this verse is key, since it reflects a summation of events that leads to a conclusion about to be given. Job's conclusion, based on new knowledge of the Creator, should perhaps be translated as "hence, I am comforted/take comfort and recant concerning the fate of mortality." Job had claimed that creatures, human and otherwise, meant nothing to a tormenting, teasing God who abandons, tortures, and then laughs at the misfortunes of his creations. Job may not understand *what* it means to be mortal (dust and ashes, doomed to die), but God has shown him that mortality does *not* mean what Job supposed. God is deeply involved in the lives of creatures, not always visibly or unambiguously, but involved nevertheless and concerned to sustain even the smallest or most despised entity.

The author of Job puts a final touch on his reworking of the old story of righteous suffering by taking us back to the world of the folktale for the final conclusion after Job's "repentance." Now God challenges the friends, those supposed speakers of theological truth, claiming that Job's behavior

and speech were *more* accurate and acceptable than theirs: ". . .you have not spoken of me what is right, as my servant Job has"(42:7b)! In the piety of the old narrative, this statement probably referred to Job's exceedingly passive, almost co-dependent responses of blessing God in the midst of misfortune, seen back in chapters 1-2. In its current placement, however, this statement by God vindicates the extremely non-traditional, passionate denunciations found in Job's laments, suggesting that saying "ouch!" is indeed a proper response to suffering rather than trivializing or ignoring it as the friends and Job of the folktale would prefer to do. Sufferers have every right to question their suffering, the author seems to be telling us; the old tale breaks down in the presence of new vision, and it makes for a rather different theological response than self-abasement. Like Behemoth and Leviathan, Job is strong, powerful, worthy of a response—and he gets one, as does the reader.

The Book of Ecclesiastes

This little book represents a marked departure from the optimistic wisdom proposed in Proverbs and the haunting questions of misfortune, struggle, and restoration found in Job. Dated usually to the end of the Persian period or the intellectually flourishing Hellenistic period, most scholars suggest a date of about 300 B.C.E. to 250 B.C.E. for the book, based on linguistic evidence. The dialect of Hebrew is quite late, and several Persian and Aramaic loan-words are also found within the text. This, added to the world-weary perspective of its author along with the notion of "fate" borrowed and modified from the classical Greco-Roman world, suggests that Solomon could not be the author as tradition has held.[12]

The association of this book with Solomonic authorship may suggest how the earliest audiences perceived the book, which is almost wholly negative in tone with only measured approval given to certain human activities. Using a "royal fiction" (1:1, 2, 12, 16; 2:7, 9; 12:8-10) works to safeguard the negative content against overt censorship. Even so—the book *does* show signs of deliberately establishing a noble birth and Solomonic wisdom credentials for the author, this literary device may be pious tampering after the fact. More traditional "glosses" sometimes attempt to counter the main author's relentless pessimism (3:17; 7:18; 8:12-13; 11:9b), and two separate endings warn the reader not to take what is said in the book *too* seriously (12:9-11, 12-14).

Clearly, the book was written by someone who was quite familiar with

12. Murphy, 49-63; Crenshaw, 116-39; Carole R. Fontaine, "Commentary on the Book of Qoheleth," in Carol Newsom and Sharon Ringe, eds., *Women's Bible Commentary*, (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox, 1992), 153-55; Roland E. Murphy, *Ecclesiastes*, WBC (Dallas: Word, 1992).

the wisdom traditions of the earlier periods as well as the philosophical trajectories of his time. The epilogue in 12:9 dispenses with the king fiction of chapters 1-2 and confirms that our author should be understood as a teacher, a compiler of proverbs and sayings, and a philosopher. The genre of the book, known as a "royal testament," has parallels with Egyptian instruction forms in which a pharaoh wrote out his legacy of deeds and good advice for his successor; wise men of the court did the same for their younger protegees. Within the testament genre we find free use of other literary forms: proverbs, admonitions, example stories, allegory, and wisdom poems.[13]

Speaking in first-person voice, the testament naturally emphasizes the individuality and unique perceptions of the person writing the work, although it also makes use of continuity with tradition. The authority of the author derives from his successful career and commands the reader's attention. This may help us understand one of the meanings of "Ecclesiastes" ("Qoheleth" in Hebrew, a feminine noun): he is one who "collects" or "assembles." One might naturally ask, "Collects *what?*"and scholars give a variety of answers, based on the content of the personal experiences recorded in the testament. The title may refer back to the royal fiction of Solomon-the-wise-king who collected women (those thousand brides of Solomon find an echo in 7:28), just as Solomon was proverbially regarded as a collector of proverbs and songs (1 Kings 4:32).

Other suggestions include the notion that Qoheleth assembled students as well as wisdom materials in a wisdom school in Jerusalem or was a religious authority who convened congregations—this is the meaning of the name in Greek ("ekklesiastes") and Latin ("concionator"), both derived from the Hebrew word "*qahal,*" assembly, congregation. Linking the name of the author to his activities also explains the word "Qoheleth"'s feminine ending: job titles, functions, and abstract concepts are feminine in Hebrew. Internal hints may suggest, however, that we would do better to dispense with the king fiction: our author repeatedly speaks of his search for wisdom, his tests of experience, and his findings (1:3-2:11 and elsewhere), which he "adds together" (that is, assembles) to come up with an answer. Even so, wisdom eludes him (7:23-25, 27-28).

The conclusion to the royal experiment of finding out "What do people gain from all the toil at which they toil under the sun?" (NRSV) may be summarized with the refrain with which the book has come to be associated: "vanity." In the broader usages of the past, this term referred not so much to obsession with physical appearance (which is how moderns tend to understand the word), but to those things which are "in vain"—insubstantial, fleeting, devoid of any lasting worth. This is precisely how Qoheleth views life, and God may be the "root cause" of the problem. It is

13. Crenshaw, 128-132.

God who has made things beautiful or crooked, setting people up to strive ceaselessly, but ultimately keeping back the knowledge/wisdom needed to properly understand the world so that all die in an emotional and intellectual wilderness for which "wine, women, and song" provide no map. Here we discover an insight into the author's social location and gender: this is a voice embedded in the male privilege of the upper classes, a voice which pretends to be powerless to change the very social orders which grant the leisure to consider such grand, disinterested tests of wisdom (2:12; 5:8)! No poor person speaks in such a way, not when survival is precarious and a rumbling belly signals that eating is about more than enjoyment. Further, most ancient women—who appear in this text only as objects symbolic of death or as the "good wife" of earlier wisdom teachings—do not speak with this royal voice of ennui and cynicism.[14] The strivings of traditional wives and mothers may well be in vain, given the constraints of their societies, but they are generally in clear agreement with the priorities to which their culture has painstakingly socialized them: that their children and successors should flourish. Qoheleth is disgusted that he "can't take it with him"; mothers are accustomed to leaving "it" all behind in service to their offspring and household. Further, the sage's view that the stillborn child is better off than some (6:3-5) would find very little assent from the women for whom successful birthing is viewed as destiny, social fulfillment, and the path to increased status. Qoheleth's inability to form meaningful relationships—understandable when the world and its inhabitants are all viewed as personal possessions or experimental animals (3:18-19)—may be the key to his ultimate incapacity to move beyond cynicism and skeptical recommendations to "seize the day."[15] The aloof mantle of king and sage, which he wears to organize his musings on life and his search for meaning, also forms a barrier to real touch and genuine affection. No wonder death seems preferable to enduring the continuous emotional pain of such a meaningless existence! Once old age has robbed a man of his ability to feel pleasure, Qoheleth wonders about the point of going on—beyond the fact that in death no one remembers or experiences any pleasures at all (9:3-6).

The Song of Songs

The final jewel in Wisdom's crown is the collection of love lyrics known as the Song of Solomon or Song of Songs (the latter title is an expression of the superlative in Hebrew: like "king of kings"= "the highest king," it

14 Eric S. Christianson, "Qoheleth the 'Old Boy' and Qoheleth the 'New Man': Misogynism, the Womb and a Paradox in Ecclesiastes," in Brenner and Fontaine, eds., *FemCompWisdomPss*, 109-36.

15. Carole R. Fontaine, "'Many Devices' (Qoheleth 7.23-8.1): Qoheleth, Misogyny, and the *Malleus Maleficarum*," in Brenner and Fontaine, eds., *FemCompWisdomPss*, 137-68.

means "the very best song"). Again, we find no consensus among scholars on date, authorship, or life-setting. A second century B.C.E. date has been proposed for the final editing of the book, but some scholars suspect that much older material, some perhaps even going back to the time of Solomon in the 10th century B.C.E., may be included in these loosely organized love poems. Once more, we find that Israel's neighbors in Egypt and Mesopotamia have similar literature though the tone may be strikingly different in places. It seems that "the fundamental things apply" in the language of love, for lovers everywhere speak of the same things: the excellence of the beloved, the search for privacy and consummation, the anguish of absence, the interference of family members who do not understand. Both the ancient synagogue and the early church were somewhat confounded by the overt, physical discussions of sexuality and affection in this text, and each chose to use those exceedingly earthly lyrics to understand the relation between the human and the divine. The Song of Songs *must* be speaking of God's husbandly love for Israel or of Christ as the Bridegroom of the church.[16]

In the modern era, other interpretations of the Song have been put forward. Some view it as an early cycle of poems which may have been sung and/or performed (perhaps with dancing and other ritual observances) at weddings. The presence of a (perhaps?) Solomonic love song for a foreign bride, arriving over the desert route to Jerusalem, in 3:6-11 fits into this conjectured life-setting. For others, the analogy with the Sacred Marriage Rites of Mesopotamia suggest that the Song may be a remnant, long forgotten and thoroughly disguised, of similar practices in ancient Israel. Some have seen in it the structure of a drama of a noble, rural shepherd girl torn between love for her rustic lover and the temptations of becoming the king's "favorite," all the while engaged in dialogue with the "chorus" of the Daughters of Jerusalem. None of these hypotheses wins out over the others, however, since all rely on external materials to interpret the Song. At present, most scholars seem comfortable with understanding the book as a series of disparate compositions, some originating orally, loosely held together by some central themes universally appropriate to lovers.

For all the scholarly speculation, the fact remains that this thoroughly human book has found its way into "Scripture" and stands as an affirming testimony to the goodness of the created body, its desires, and their outcome. The cluster of language about the Beloved reminds us forcibly of the

16. Athalya Brenner, ed., *A Feminist Companion to the Song of Songs* (Sheffield, U.K.: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993); Michael V. Fox, *The Song of Songs and the Ancient Egyptian Love Songs* (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin, 1985); Marvin Pope, *Song of Songs: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary,* AB (New York: Doubleday, 1978); Roland E. Murphy, *The Song of Songs*; Hermenia (Minneapolis: Augsburg/Fortress, 1990).

descriptions of Lady Wisdom and of the Strong Woman of Proverbs; the perseverance of the Beloved in searching for her sweetheart echoes the faithfulness of Job's wife, who stayed with him in his affliction and pursuit of an answer from God. And the motif of the search for meaning/love is strongly reminiscent of the musings of Qoheleth. These ties to language and outlook have led some scholars to suggest that it was the sages responsible for editing and passing on other wisdom books who were at work in the collection, editing, and preservation of the Song within the canon. Add to this that the Song contains no direct mention of God and deals with the everyday world of personal rather than national strivings, and the connections with the wisdom movement become even more pointed.

Other features of the Song catch the eye and call out to the modern reader. We may note with interest that the "functional" nature of sexual love—procreation—receives little or no attention in these love lyrics. Only the appearance of the Beloved's mother and her brothers suggests that sexuality leads to marriage and family life. Certainly, the beloved longs for a "legal" relationship with her lover, in which she and he might openly exchange affection, but for neither main character is the zealous pursuit of the Other primarily concerned with securing a marriage contract, children, or status. Instead, we have something very akin to modern concepts of "romantic" love: these two want each other for the sheer joy of knowing and loving; the ultimate outcome of their relationship is not a major preoccupation. We find in the Song a return to the Garden of Eden, now restored as a garden of love, in which all the snakes wear human faces, yet even they cannot hamper the lovers' joyous celebration of each other's bodies and commitments.

Scholars debate which verses throughout the poems should be assigned to the Beloved, her lover, and the other "minor" voices, but there is no debate on the subject of which voice speaks the most. It is the voice of the woman in love which directs this book. It is customary in the study of biblical literature to treat whichever character has the most lines of dialogue as the main character. Commonly, the main speaker is also held to be the character with whom the narrator identifies and whose interests the narrator supports. Just as Job outstripped his comforters by giving much longer and more impassioned answers to their shorter speeches, and just as Qoheleth tried to permit the power of speech to no other voice than his, so too the passionate songs of the Beloved overshadow those of all other speakers. This has led some to suggest the possibility of female authorship for many of the compositions in the Song. While this is not something which may be proved conclusively based on the evidence at hand, it can be convincingly argued that whether or not a woman authored the book, it is certainly concerned with and attentive to female perceptions of the world.[17]

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17. S. D. Goitein, "The Song of Songs: A Female Composition," in Brenner, ed., *FemCompSong*, 58-66; Athalya Brenner, "Women Poets and Authors," ibid., 86-99.

Further, there is a theological lesson to be learned here: speech about the excellence of love, the beauty of the body, the nature of desire—all these immeasurably human preoccupations are at the same time infused with a divine quality. Through true intimacy with one another, humans come to participate in an intimacy with the God who created them for love. The Song of Songs ends with this affirmation:

> Set me as a seal upon your heart, as a seal upon your arm;
> for love is strong as death, jealousy is cruel as the grave.
> Its flashes are flashes of fire, a most vehement flame.
> Many waters cannot quench love, neither can floods drown it.
> If a man offered for love all the wealth of his house,
> it would be utterly scorned. (8:6-7, RSV)

It is no mistake that in these verses from the concluding chapter we find what might be the only genuine reference to God in the whole poem: "a most vehement flame" ("a raging flame," NRSV) should perhaps be translated as "a flame of Yah," where "Yah" is the short form of the name of the Hebrew god Yahweh. The metaphor is not without precedent: "x of Yah" is another way of expressing a superlative concept,[18] much as English speakers might talk about a "god-awful" or "awe-ful" experience. The expansive nature of God sets the extreme perimeter on human imagination and serves here as a guidepost: when singing of love, what lovers say to one another may be viewed as truly "inspired."

Emma's Anguish

Emma Lou Thayne

Joseph, Joseph,
How has the night persuaded you?
What bed but this?
What arms but mine?
What devil angel invaded to
Denounce our bliss,
Make mockery of calls I thought divine?

Joseph, Joseph,
Where the love that spawned our bliss?
The press of hearts,
The urgent need?
How on this pillow any wish but for your kiss?
How rent in parts
The journey of your more than precious seed?

Joseph, Lord of Joseph,
Hear my call!
Bless my woman's knowing this can't be all.
This can't be all.

The Rhetoric of Hypocrisy, Virtuous and Vicious[1]

Wayne Booth

I CAN'T RESIST BEGINNING with some crude, rude questions. As I look out at you, I see you all appearing as polite, open-minded, virtuous lovers of culture studies, or at least inquirers into what such studies are all about. If you weren't, you wouldn't be here, right?

Please now ask yourself whether there is a sharp difference between the culture-lover I see, looking around at you and the person you feel you really *are*, at this moment—the "I," the "self," or, if you prefer, your "core," your "soul," as you sit here apparently really listening but no doubt simultaneously worrying about some problem you'll face later in the day or about some goof you committed yesterday.

Secondly, is there a difference between those two selves and the self you projected to others this morning when you were rushing through breakfast or quarreling with your parents or your spouse or friend? Or how about who you were yesterday in a class, pretending to have really read a text you hadn't read, or who you were last time you were interviewed by your bishop or priest?

I shouldn't even have to ask the third question, which overlaps number one: have you in any way this morning dressed up your appearance, as I did mine when I trimmed my beard—in other words, have you "cosmeticized" yourself today: put in a denture, or shaved or trimmed your natural beard, or improved your complexion with some makeup, or chosen the right clothes rather than the wrong ones for this so-called intellectual occasion?

Fourth question: I wonder how many of you have, like me, recently concealed your true thoughts when talking with someone you actually

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1. A version of this talk was delivered at the Conference on LDS Culture at Utah Valley State College, March 21, 2000. For various reasons, not all of them obvious, I have chosen to maintain the colloquial style wherever relevant.

don't like or you disapprove of—made yourself sound relatively friendly and nice, rather than speaking out frankly? Have you, as various expressions put it, "held your tongue," "been tactful," "suppressed your true feelings," "feigned a bit," "polished a bit," "varnished," or "put on airs"?

Well, am I right in expecting complete agreement that everybody here does some form of the "whitewashing" or "masking" revealed by the four questions? Don't we all hope to present different and better selves for different occasions? Don't we all, to some degree, carefully or carelessly doctor our image, aspire to appear better than we would without the doctoring? Though we do it for many different reasons, some defensible and some not, don't we all "put on the dog," practice "diplomacy" or "sweet talk," or mask our image, hoping for some goal that pure, blatant, undoctored naturalness or sincerity might destroy?[2]

Now I must ask for hands. Is there anyone here who disagrees with my generalization, who claims never to put on some kind of mask?

Not a single hand was raised, though perhaps there were some who were tempted to do so, claiming complete "sincerity."[3]

That agreement shouldn't surprise any of us. My wife remembers that when she was in elementary school, one of her teachers asked the class, "Is there anyone here who has never told a lie?" and when only two hands went up, the teacher looked sharply at one of the two—not Phyllis—and said, "I know that you're lying right now." Phyllis confesses that she herself was indeed lying.

After all that agreement, I can be pretty sure of strong disagreement about a fifth question, one that is being widely discussed by teachers in the humanities and social sciences these days: are those different selves or voices that we all present really different persons, different selves? Or are you really the same person now that you were then, before the cleaning up? Are you the same person here as you were there? Is there some unity, some coherent harmonized core, a genuine single identity beneath all the different images that you present in different situations? Here our answers will certainly vary widely.

Many thinkers these days, including some cognitive scientists, are arguing that there is no such thing as a centered self, an identity: we are all multiple selves, not just social selves, created by diverse cultures, but permanently disunified, divided, conflicted selves. At the opposite end many

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2. I have a list of about fifty synonyms used for our various forms of masking, or passing, or diplomacy, many of them, like "mealy mouth," "shyster," "cheater," or "two-timer" with strongly negative connotations.

3. In the reception after the talk, one woman told me that she had indeed been tempted to raise her hand. "I never pose about anything." I couldn't resist looking her in the face and asking, "What about the lipstick you're wearing right now?" She blushed a bit, and said, "Oh, I hadn't really thought about that."

thinkers, including some psychologists and religious novelists like Saul Bellow, would agree with all devout Mormons and most believers in other religions that there is after all a unified soul underlying and uniting all these different images that we project or experience inside ourselves.[4]

The age-old battle over whether the soul can be unified could make a book in itself. The first major effort I know of to find unity while acknowledging division was Plato's grappling with how the charioteer, Reason, could control the two wild horses, Desire and Passions (like anger). Perhaps the most influential modern quest was Freud's, with his tripartite ego, id, and super-ego. The claims to have found *the* unity and counterclaims that there is no such center are almost matched in number by claims that the problem will always be confusing. Here, for example, is Abraham Heschel, pursuing an elusive unity in a religious hero: "The soul is a realm of confusion. Some intentions are meant for God, others for the ego, and they are nearly always intermingled."[5]

And here is Somerset Maugham describing his divided sexual soul: "You see, I was a quarter normal and three-quarters queer, but I tried to persuade myself it was the other way round."[6] Most biographies, and almost as many autobiographies, reveal such grapplings with a sense of division among "selves."

At the very least, many would say, our goal in life should be to pursue that unity, and then celebrate it. Some Mormons are deeply disturbed by any claim that the circumstances we encounter, and how we respond to them, can actually change who we really are: we really are, for them, only what we have been for all eternity. Yet even they will claim that the very goal of life is to progress, eternally—thus changing the original identity.

Whether or not we can really unify our various images, internal and external, most of us would have to confess not only to one or another form of masking, as revealed in questions one through five, but to experiencing at least some degree of conflict among various "masks" and our notions of who we really are. And a lot of the contrasts raise questions about honesty and integrity, questions that underlie my inquiry today. Even the most devout religious folks who are certain that they have a distinctive, unique, unified core will often reveal considerable puzzlement about just where their center is to be found. And even the most honest among us—and of course I must insist that I am among the most honest of all—even the most honest will be found to do some doctoring up, some jazzing up, some

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4. For an account of Bellow's quest for harmony beneath the signs of a divided self, see his *It All Adds Up* (New York: Viking, 1993), esp. 300 ff.

5. Abraham Joshua Heschel, *A Passion for Truth* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1973), 310.

6. Quoted in the book by his nephew, Robin Maugham, *Conversations with Willie: Recollections of W. Somerset Maugham* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978) p. 140.

cleaning up as we present ourselves to the world. Most of us struggle to appear as better than we feel we really are—just as I have been struggling in preparing this talk to sound a lot better-informed and more intelligent than I am. You should have seen me yesterday morning when I discovered that I had locked myself out of my house by forgetting my keys. I would not want a video shown of how I behaved at that moment.

Perhaps the most obvious, and often the most contemptible, examples of masking can be found in politics. A reviewer of a new biography of Vice President Gore, called *Inventing Al Gore*,[7] says that the book reveals Gore "as a hypocrite, driven by a curious mixture of duty, loyalty, and cold political calculus," putting on this or that mask in the pursuit of political success.

Last January President Bush, confronted by reporters who said that he had seemed flustered when answering their questions, admitted that he needed to work harder at developing a "poker face." (Do I need to tell you who are so pious that you've never played poker just what a "poker face" is? Well, it's any appearance you "put on" as a total concealment of your true feelings.) "I'm not sometimes very good about hiding my emotions," Bush said. "I'm like anybody else. I've got moods and feelings"—that is, he has moods and feelings that he doesn't want the world to see, right?[8]

The Bush who said that, confessing to a weakness—that is, his lack of sufficient skill in putting on a poker face—was that Bush at that moment expressing the one true, authentic, real, honest poker-face-desiring George W. Bush, or was he just putting on another face, the mask of an honest confessor?

Facing the Moral Issues

That question leads us to the key question today: is any of that kind of hypocrisy morally defensible? Where does this fact of universal masking take us? Who deserves blame and who praise for it? When not just political figures and our bishops and apostles and popes and rabbis and professors, but all of us put on our diverse masks, ranging from Bush's bland "poker face" to President Clinton's disastrous maskings and on to my posing before you here and your mild exaggerations of virtue last time you were interviewed for a temple recommend—I ask again should we always blame the masker for doing that?[9]

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7. The book is by Bill Turque (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2000). The review by Michiko Kakutani is in *The New York Times* (March 17, 2000): B44.

8. *The New York Times* (Jan. 17, 2000), B3.

9. A favorite example from my pious family background is a story told by one of my favorite aunts. "As a teenager, the only argument I ever had with Father was over me wearing my corsets too tight. He and Manda [her sister] quarreled over high heels, but with me it was corsets. One night when I was going to a dance, he made me go and loosen them up. When I came out, he said "Did you do it?" I said yes—but when I got to the dance I tightened them

Some purists claim that we should: masking is always wicked. Only absolute, open sincerity is moral. It is immoral even to say a cheerful "hello" when one actually feels miserable, or to tell a sick friend, "You're looking better today" when he's looking actually worse. My favorite example of such well-meant masking not working came when my professor-hero, Ronald Crane, was in the hospital—almost on his death bed. When I entered, he looked even worse than the last time I'd seen him. I said, hypocritically, "You're looking some better today, Mr. Crane." He scowled up at me and wittily snarled, "What's your evidence?"—one of his standard scholarly slogans.

At the other extreme, some anti-purists, like Machiavelli in his book *The Prince*, say that the very existence of the world depends on skill in lying and that skilful lying is actually a virtue.[10]

Where do we come out on that dispute? Resisting the temptation to ask you for more embarrassing examples, let's move further on the moral question. As my title suggests, such posing, such mask-wearing, such self-dramatization ranges from the obviously defensible, like taking a shower to remove one's natural stink or being tactful when a friend is acting stupidly, to the obviously questionable or contemptible, like lying to hurt a friend or to win a contest or to get victims to buy into a fake real estate scheme. At the extremes, we have little trouble judging: if I can save a friend's life by lying, I'll do it; but I won't take such helpfulness to the self-serving extreme of the wealthy cosmetic surgeon who finally got caught last year: he didn't even have an MD degree. On the obviously defensible side, my favorite example is the Catholic priest André Trochmé, who has confessed openly that during the Nazi occupation of France, he consistently and steadily lied to the Gestapo and helped train other Frenchmen to lie in order to protect and preserve Jews. He would lie many times a day—and then pray to God in the evening for forgiveness, knowing that God would have been more offended if he'd told the truth that led to the Jews' destruction.[11]

Was he being sinfully hypocritical? I can't believe that anyone here would accept that word "sinful" for his rescuing hundreds of Jews.[12] And all of us would condemn hypocrites who practice hypocrisy to harm others.

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again" (*The Autobiography of Relva Booth Ross* [Provo, Utah: J. Grant Stevenson, 1971], 20). When she told me that story in her dying years, I was not only surprised, but shocked. I had thought I was the only one in the family who cheated like that. And the key question is: was Aunt Relva being really wicked when she put on that "mask"?

10. For one of the best of many discussions of Machiavelli's arguments as they relate to integrity, see Ruth W. Grant, *Hypocrisy and Integrity: Machiavelli, Rousseau, and the Ethics of Politics* (Chicago: The Univ. of Chicago Press, 1997).

11. See Philip Hallie, *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed: the Story of the Village of Le Chambon, and How Goodness Happened There* (New York: Harper Colophon, 1980).

12. One of the most aggressive defenses of essential lying is Arnold Ludwig's *The Importance of Lying* (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1965). Perhaps the best known recent

In using the word "hypocrisy" for both good and bad masking, I'm aware that the term is a bit dangerous, since most people read the word only negatively. Our scriptures use it only to describe a kind of sin: to pretend to virtues we don't yet have is damnable. As the Lord puts it in D&C 41:5: "He that receiveth my law and doeth it. . .is my disciple; and he that saith he receiveth it and doeth it not, is not my disciple, and shall be cast out from among you." You might want to have a look at the index to your copy of the New Testament to see how much unqualified attack there is on hypocrisy. And of course that attack is in many ways justified. Any con man like Mark Hofmann with his forgeries of scriptures here in Utah, while pretending to be a devout Mormon in order to seduce other Mormons into investing cash in frauds—*any* such hypocrite should be jailed, even if he doesn't commit murder as Hofmann did. But in its Greek origins, the word hypocrisy simply referred to "acting out a role," doing what an actor does on the stage. It lacked its later Tartuffian, Hofmannesque connotations: vicious, harmful faking.

The term itself, meaning "acting out, for good or bad purposes," may not be rescuable for my case, but I want to argue that we practice far too many bad kinds of hypocrisy when we pretend that playing roles, projecting only half-true selves, is always bad. Too often we talk as if only those far down below us, the wicked, fail to practice total openness, total sincerity, as we claim to do, even as we put on masks every day. Too many of us, including many religious leaders in all denominations, talk as if only absolute, full, honest, open sincerity with nothing hidden is morally defensible—even as we and they violate that "sincerity" every day.

Hypocrisy in Creative Writing

One of the great probings of defensible and indefensible kinds of "total sincerity" is Moliére's *Le Misanthrope*. The hero, Alceste, against the strong rational advice of his friend, Philinte, who is the play's "*raissoneur*," insists on total openness, total frankness, total bluntness in every social situation. At the end, defeated by the realities of society, he flees to the "desert" (the play doesn't define the word, but suggests that it is anywhere that allows one to avoid all encounters with other people.) Alceste's self destruction, read in conjunction with the author's even more famous *Le Tartuffe*, dramatizes wonderfully the ambiguities I am pursuing in this talk.

So my plea today is for all of us to learn how to do a better job of practicing hypocrisy upward and to think harder about what distinguishes

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exploration of lying, with a strong bias against it except in the most extremely benign instances, is Sissela Bok's *Lying: Moral Choice in Public and Private Life* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978). All such books, on all sides of the moral issues, have to grapple with Immanuel Kant's absolute condemnation of all lies.

hypocrisy upward from indefensible posing and lying. My claim is that the wearing of masks that project a self superior to our many other selves is not only an inescapable practice, but a habit-building practice that is essential to our psychological or spiritual progress.

That is obviously not an easy case to make, especially in a culture in which most preachers most of the time take the opposite position: all deception is wicked. But in some parts of our lives the case for hypocrisy is hard to deny. Perhaps the clearest is the way that all serious authors imply, in their finished works, that they are better, wiser, kinder selves than are revealed when biographers probe into their flesh-and-blood lives and reveal the warts. Poets and novelists in effect wipe out their faults and sins, even as they portray the faults and sins of their created characters. But in doing so, they are often creating wonderful new versions of themselves.

My favorite example of how the best writing exhibits hypocrisy upward occurred one day when I happened on Saul Bellow on 57th Street in Chicago.

"Hi, there, Wayne."

"Oh, hi. What're you up to these days, Saul?"

"Oh, I'm revising a novel—*Herzog*—spending four hours a day at it."

"Just what do you see yourself doing, spending four hours a day revising?"

"Well, I'm just wiping out those parts of myself that I don't like."

The poet Yeats talked a lot about this very process in his own life—what he usually called putting on "masks" or playing roles or taking on alter egoes that covered the "real" Yeats. We find in his journals and letters that he often had trouble defining or defending a self behind the masks; his masks sometimes felt to him hypocritical in the bad sense, but sometimes they felt ennobling. His poems imply a Yeats who to me is almost a saint—a fabulous genius honorably probing the depths of life. And Yeats often hints at one of my main points here: as he wears the masks, wiping out those parts of his self that he does not like, as he practices that hypocrisy upward, he gradually begins to emulate, in his daily life, the pretended one. And soon, as he goes on pretending to be better, Yeats actually turns the masks into a new reality.[13]

That process—the achieving of a virtue by practicing it deceptively—is wonderfully illustrated in a novella by Max Beerbohm, called *The Happy Hypocrite*. The protagonist, Lord George Hell, is a viciously sinful man, exploiting everyone around him. When he falls in love with a teenage actress, Jenny Mere, he proposes to her, only to have the shock of her rejecting his wealth and nobility. "I can never be your wife," she says. "I can never be

13. For a splendid account of Yeats's masking, see Richard Ellmann, *Yeats: The Man and the Masks* (New York: Dutton, 1948).

the wife of a man whose face is not saintly. Your face, my Lord, mirrors, it may be, true love for me, but it is even as a mirror long tarnished by the reflection of this world's vanity. It is even as a tarnished mirror . . . That man, whose face is as wonderful as are the faces of the saints, to him I will give my true love."

The crushed villain finally gets the bright idea of going to a skilful professional masker, who covers his villainous face with the mask of a saint. When he proposes again, Miss Mere accepts him, joyfully. They marry, and he practices the sainthood required to justify the mask. But then one of his former mistresses turns up and threatens to unmask him. They quarrel, and finally "like a panther," she attacks him, "claws at his waxen cheek," and tears off the saintly mask. He is terrified, sure that his beloved will now hate him as she sees the old villainous face. But "lo! his face was even as his mask had been. Line for line, feature for feature, it was the same. 'Twas a saint's face."[14] The hypocrisy upward, the practice of sainthood, has marvelously transformed his former appearance, his former self.

Hypocrisy in Religion

Since hypocrisy upward and downward is practiced in every domain of life, the subject has produced hundreds of books and thousands of articles—often without even using the word hypocrisy; the word "casuistry" has had the same mixed history, with many Catholic theologians defending what some moderns have called "situation ethics": the adjustment of what one says and does to the needs of the cases or circumstances one stumbles upon.[15] If I ever manage to do a book on this subject, I'll have to narrow it down to invaluable hypocrisy upwards that novelists like Saul Bellow and poets like Yeats practice when they create their works: the act of building better selves in writing—of novels, of poems, of autobiographies, and biographies.

But for the rest of our time today, I'll narrow it further to the problems of personal hypocrisy when we find ourselves in a religious culture. Though as we've seen, hypocrisy is found everywhere in the world, I think the temptations toward it—whether upward or downward, defensible or indefensible—are especially strong in religious cultures. When you are finding your "self," or trying to find it, in a culture where everyone aspires to be saved or glorified or sanctified, or at least pretends to, the temptations

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14. "The Happy Hypocrite" in *Max Beerbohm: Selected Prose*, Lord David Cecil, ed. (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1970; original, 1897).

15. A good introduction to the history of casuistry can be found in *The Abuse of Casuistry: A History of Moral Reasoning*, by Albert R. Jonsen and Stephen Toulmin (Berkeley, Ca.: The University of California Press, 1988).

to present a righteous image are extremely strong, even when you know, deep down inside, that you sinned just five minutes ago.

Every Mormon who thinks about it will have discovered that this temptation is extremely strong in our church. In my adolescent diaries, written as I was raised in American Fork, I find entry after entry where I presented a self far more righteous or intelligent or learned than memory tells me I actually was. I had been taught that if I kept my nose clean, I would some day become God of another world. But as I wrote my daily or weekly entries, I knew that my nose was often a snotty one. And I did my best to make it look clean.

Every Mormon with whom I've ever had an intimate discussion of masking—including the Wayne Booth who keeps a journal full of confessions—has confessed to a sense of guilt about the masking: a perpetual sense of failing to live up to the projected image. The same guilt is found in my Catholic and Jewish friends. "I feel," one said, "that when I sit through mass, bored, not really praying but just pretending to, I'm being just plain wickedly hypocritical."

Nothing I can say here will diminish that sense of guilt, but on the favorable side it seems to me clear that often, when we put on a mask of a better self, we are learning, just like Beerbohm's cheater, how really to *be* that better self. Surely there is, at least in some kinds of posing, something redemptive. I must repeat that I'm not defending all lying. When a dishonest car salesman spends three hours Sunday morning acting like a saint, knowing that he'll do his best to cheat customers Monday morning, he ought to feel guilty. But does that mean, for certain, that he should stop the hypocrisy? Isn't there a chance that if he pretends to pray devoutly or gives a faked pack of lies in testimony meeting, some of that pretension to be on the good side might sneak in and take over at least part of his life?

Though I think that point applies in every religious culture, it feels to me to fit unusually well into the LDS notion of eternal progress: we are not saved only by some magical moment of bliss, though such moments can be a turning point, but by the daily aspiration to enact *now* virtue after virtue—often virtues that we don't yet have.

By now you can see that my point today is not just the obvious one that some lies are virtuous when they really save others from serious harm. Examples of that are plentiful throughout history, like my André Trochmé example: a devout priest lying to save Jews from torture and death. My claim extends that defense: it is that the genuine effort to appear as better than we know we are, deep down inside, can become a kind of practice of virtue that over time produces genuine virtuous habits. Like Beerbohm's hypocrite, we can change for the better by pretending to be better.

To face honestly the difficulties in that claim, we need to look at some more examples. Once we think about it, we can see that masking takes

place all the way from the bottom to the top. Though some of my Mormon friends and relatives like to deny it, they know that in fact even the church authorities must often engage in role playing if the church is to function at all. Yet our general pretense is that it does not take place.

When I was in high school, I can remember being utterly shocked by the accidental discovery that my ward bishop had been caught in a real estate scam. His misdeed didn't get much publicity, as you might predict. He was quietly replaced without any public acknowledgement of the reason. For the first time, I had to recognize that some of those saints "up there" were not entirely saintly and that at least one of them had lied about it. That shook my faith, badly, in a way that need not have happened if I had been taught that hypocrisy is universal, that the authorities are not perfect, and that the bishop, though to be blamed for his real estate deals, might not be blamable for struggling, on Sunday, to make up for them. It was the claim that all authorities are at all times totally open and sincere—hypocritical denial of hypocrisy—that did me harm.

Second example: when I was mission secretary, the mission president's wife and I would have lots of private talks. She was an absolutely pious, devout Mormon, but she couldn't resist talking about misbehavior by some of the brethren she and her husband had to deal with. Here's a quote from my diary. It may sound to some of you like an attack on church authorities, but I intend it as the reverse: as support for my claim that practicing hypocrisy upward is essential not just to any church but to any form of hopeful human life. As I read this now, ask yourself whether we church members would be better off if the president she reported on had behaved always in public the way he sometimes behaved in private:

> Of course I love the authorities, and I know they are men of God, but President Heber J. Grant is a petty, money-minded man, incapable of thinking about anything greater than dollars or his own success. . . . He is small in his daily relationships, often becoming cross and angry after minor things. One day he became very angry because my husband had brought me and our son with him to meet him at the RR station; President Grant wanted the back seat of the car for his golf bags and togs. In fact. . .many of the apostles are positively nasty [in private], but of course I understand that they have many important things on their minds. . .and besides, daily affairs bother them because they are used to being near to God.

Now, then, would you have advised President Grant to reveal that side of himself in a talk in General Conference, say, confessing openly to being sometimes a petty, money-minded man? I would not—even though I'm perhaps violating that statement by telling you about them at this moment. For all we know—and I have a hope that it's true—President Grant was

quite genuine in his aspiration not just to present, but to be a different, better man. He would surely have harmed the church and himself if he'd performed in public the way he performed in private.[16]

So my argument is that we all should be more honest with ourselves about how much we depend on being "dishonest," on role playing, and that we should think harder about what forms of masking are harmful and what forms are the kind required if we are really to work at making ourselves and the world better. And we should all talk more openly with one another about the good and the bad of it. We should not act like those politicians who, when they rightly attacked Clinton for lying, talked as if they had never in their lives told a lie.

What to Do about Universal Hypocrisy

What does all this imply about how we should behave day by day? I'm sure you've noticed that throughout here there are many implied rude and crude exhortations—maybe even call them commandments or rules, rules that obviously must be considered bendable for all of us in some circumstances:

First, a rule that may apply mostly to academics here: too often I find that in our talk about multiple selves, social selves, culturally constructed selves, we give too little attention to the moral or ethical effects of such self-inventions. While many non-academics seem to attack all hypocrisy as unforgivably immoral, we academics seem not to talk about it at all in our publications or even in the classroom. We need to attend not just to the moral effects on the masker, but the effects on those of us who admire the masker and take those masked selves in as models: we all turn maskers into ideals of how we want to live. We derive our models for living by taking in, absorbing, the masked-selves reported—or invented—by others—especially by the most powerful writers and speakers. Some of those masks are of course destructive, but many are helpful, and some I would even describe as salvational.

For most of us, of course, the actual models we live with—our parents and siblings and friends—have even stronger effects on us than any stories or books we read or view on television or at the theatre. But we can all remember moments, especially when young, when we were "taken in" by

16. None of this is intended to suggest that authorities should never confess their mistakes or sins openly. Elder Boyd K. Packer, not exactly one of my heroes, was heroic on this point when he confessed to the errors he had committed about the status of black Mormons. "Sometimes it is difficult to talk about mistakes. But it is a great blessing in the Church for us to have the privilege of cleansing ourselves. One of the steps of repentance is to make proper confession. . . . Repentance is something like soap." (*The Holy Temple*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980). And he publicly lamented, in a speech at BYU, "All are Alike Unto God," the racist errors he had committed (see *A Symposium on the Book of Mormon*, 1979).

written or told lives. I can remember longing as a teenager to be as smart and heroic as the hero of Alexandre Dumas' *The Count of Monte Cristo*; unconsciously I was also longing to be as clever a writer as Dumas. Not long after, early in college at BYU, I found myself longing to be able to write a sincere autobiography as powerful as the *Confessions* of St. Augustine or poetry as sensitive, brilliant, and deeply religious as Tennyson's "In Memoriam." I'm sure that most of you can remember similar models in novels, autobiographies, biographies, or poems, or church sermons. (For today I'm putting aside our temptations to imitate TV and movie stars)

Meeting those doctored models, those maskings, when they hit us just right, we are won over, often quite uncritically, sometimes quite nobly, into viewing the portrayed life as the way to live. None of those model creators were as good as they looked, but thank God for their model-building.

Sometimes, to repeat, we are "taken in" in the bad sense: we are conned, led into imitations that are destructive. At other times we're rescued: "Oh, that's the sort of person I'd most like to be"—and we then dig in and try to become like that imagined person. Decades later we may find, looking back on it, that the imitation rescued us from the disasters that might have been produced by following other popular models. At yet other times, we look back and wonder how we could ever have been so stupid as to take the author of that crummy, egotistical self-help book or the church authority who gave a moving but destructive sermon as a model. "Why didn't some English teacher or critic or seminary instructor warn me to consider such ethical matters critically, raising important questions all the way?"

In short, we who teach or write criticism should labor now to correct the silly notion that the very phrases "moral criticism" or "ethical criticism" imply a threat of blind, right-wing fundamentalist, thoughtless preaching. At the same time, to those of us academics who actually practice moral criticism, the exhortation is to take into account the immense ambiguities in our moral commandments. Thou shalt not lie? Well, except when? Were my great-grandfather and church leaders wicked when they lied to federal authorities about polygamy?

Second: let's all be more honest about our own maskings. Nobody can talk about hypocrisy upward without confessing to mask wearing, sometimes honorably, sometimes not. The masks of others, as they write and revise their stories and novels and sermons, are among our greatest resources for good living. Our own masks need to be thought about.

I have to *confess*—underlining that word—that to me the worst single kind of hypocrisy we live with today is the implied claim, by too many church leaders like my childhood bishop, in various denominations, that they are perfect, flawless, infallible. Too few of them are ever willing to confess, as Apostle Bruce McConkie finally did about his decades of mistaken racism, or as the pope has recently done about Catholic abominations, that

they have committed serious, sad errors. Every honest human being is aware of human faults and for a leader, or for any of us, to pretend otherwise is bad hypocrisy, not hypocrisy upward. Though it is obviously one of the leader's jobs to provide us with models for living, it should not be the model of pretending to be perfect.

Third: we should all—whether Mormons, Jews, Catholics, Muslims, atheists—do what we can to help build those aspects of our culture that are not hypocritical about the values of hypocrisy upward. We must work to build a critical culture that knows how to distinguish fraud from genuine aspiration to betterment, a culture that stops pretending that some human beings are already perfect. Such a culture will prove far less vulnerable to vicious con artists than religious cultures now prove to be.

Fourth: all of us should start working harder at thinking about our personal hypocrisy upward. Start playing today, in your own writing or conversation with friends, with the practice of constructive hypocrisy upward. Perhaps start a journal, not just a boring daily record of what happened, of the kind I started at age fourteen, but a record of your attempts to practice a better self. Include in that journal honest probings of just which hypocritical acts of that day were contemptibly self-serving or even hurtful, and which were, like Father André Trochmé's, actually ennobling.

One possibility for some of us is to start an autobiography, asking who have I been? Or who am I? Or who do I want to become? Perhaps attempt a biography of your most admired friend or relative or some more distant human model, or even of your worst enemy? Or why not write a story or some poetry that implies your most ideal self-dream? Toughest assignment of all, you might attempt a novel that implies, like Saul Bellow's—not necessarily in the characters portrayed but in the lurking author—a version of yourself superior to the one you exhibit in your daily life. From this list choose the one that seems least threatening, and sit down at your desk every day, or week, or month, and probe for a while, in writing, not just who you have thought you were, but who you really want to be. To me, such efforts are a kind of prayer.

Conclusion

Where do such tricky suggestions take us? Whichever of these alternative probings you choose, it will be true that in the time you spend thinking about hypocrisy upward or putting on a hypocritical mask, you will probably create or discover a self superior to the one you were when sitting on the toilet ten minutes before, or the one you were when you rushed to class, or shopped for groceries, or checked your e-mail, or sat listening to some aspiring, aging, would-be scholar like me preaching at you about hypocrisy upward.

Unfortunately, though, you can never know in advance whether that

newly discovered self will really be a better one. You may, by your probing, uncover hitherto hidden qualities that appall you, at least for a while: "Oh, Lord; forgive me. I had forgotten about that time I deliberately hurt my best friend or the time I lied atrociously to my bishop." Or: "Why oh why was I so deceptively rude to my teacher (or students, or boss) yesterday, or thirty years ago?"

I must confess here, as I move toward the end, to a really polemical feeling I have about all this. I feel sickened by how many self-help authors these days identify virtue-progress with financial progress, hypocritically implying that having become wealthy proves that they are ethical models. They suggest that if you're really a saint, you'll make more and more money until you die; if you make more money, you are more of a saint. Too few of the newly wealthy seem to face the moral dilemma produced by the contrast between their wealth, their claims to virtue, and their contribution to the increasing plight of the poor—here in Utah, in the Chicago slums, in Bangladesh. My preachy advice to everyone who is pursuing wealth as the definition of "success" in life is this: read a bit each morning in the New Testament of what Jesus says about the pursuit of wealth and being wealthy, about the hypocrisy of the rich. Then write a journal entry about what motivates your coming day.

Another problem that I suggested earlier is that occasionally the self-quest can even lead to a sense of deep, self-destructive guilt, as you uncover past misdeeds. Sometimes the older, writing self, miserable because of this or that disaster or disappointment or the mere wearing-out that comes with aging, rejects earlier, better selves as mere illusions and ends up feeling worse than ever. But, of course, if you young folks here were in danger of that one, you wouldn't even be here today. Right?

Anyway, despite the dangers, I still claim that if you can drive yourself to sit down and practice the right kind of "hypocrisy upward" in writing, you will achieve—well, how hypocritical will it sound if I claim that it can be the best kind of self-help—better than the practices offered in most of our thousands of crummy self-help manuals? The most successful of these do have some overlap with what I'm suggesting. Steve Covey's *Seven Habits of Highly Effective People*, for example, actually does recommend keeping a journal. But it never even mentions the fact that in recommending the development of better habits, we must constantly practice—as he of course always does—the pretense of being better than we really are. If I had the lousy job of editing the next edition of Covey's book, the eighth habit of "effectiveness" (lousy word) would be: think harder, daily, about the relation of hypocrisy to integrity and about whether, if you are wealthy, you can claim to be virtuous if all you've done is pay your tithing and then boast to the world by exhibiting how much more money you've won and proclaiming how to win more.

Okay, hypocrite Booth: drop that preachy moralism. Let's conclude. In

spite of the dangers in it, never forget that in creating an imagined life better than the one you manage every day, in putting on the mask of genuine virtue, you can create an implied self more focused, more thoughtful, more creative, than the one in which you are dwelling in the mess of everyday life. Like Bellow, and unlike those political candidates, you'll not be faking, but wiping out those parts of yourself that you genuinely do not like.

And you may actually find, like Beerbohm's hero, that as you practice hypocrisy upward, behind the mask, enacting a better self than you thought you were before, the mask has become not a poker face but your real face.

Thin Ice

Ken Raines

I watch two girls on wheels.
Four neon-green wheels
on each foot. Rollers

in the shape of a blade,
they schuss and stall,
and hesitate, and slalom;

Stutter down the easy dry slope
of driveway concrete
fresh poured last summer.

On the hour, the radio reports
sixteen degrees and falling
in a steep chill-factor wind.

But the hurly-burly ballet
continues undimmed in Lycra-
bright enthusiasm.

They skate with the grace
of those unhobbled by concern
over false starts and faux pas.

With no signs posted
to advise skaters
of their own fragility,

or caution them that their egos
may one day give way
with only an ominous crack

of belated warning,
They roll on
with bolder and bolder strokes.

The Mission Journal of *Cectpa Haut*

Erika Knight[1]

MARCH 26, 1996

I am sitting in a hotel suite in Moscow. The airport lost our luggage, so we are going to stay here until they find it. Our total flight time was fifteen hours from Washington, D.C., to Moscow. Sister Akers, Elder Hadlock, and I slept most of the time to avoid the kissy movies being shown.

March 27, 1996

This morning we saw a grandmother, a *babushka*, at the hotel entrance sweeping with a twig broom. When we started to go outside, she said authoritatively in Russian: "It's cold. Go back in and put on a coat." We understood and put on our coats.

March 28, 1996

I am in my coupe on the train. Our luggage was recovered and nothing is missing. We have been watching all the villages go by. In Moscow, people live in Communist apartments. Out here, people live in little *dachas* that look like the little houses in West Virginia coal mining towns, except that they are painted bright red, deep blue, or green. We are also passing farms and rolling hills with a little snow. The train trip takes twenty hours.

March 29, 1996

Tonight we had an appointment with a family who forgot we were coming and had another couple over. They invited us in and gave us vodka, coffee, and chocolates. Sister Black explained that we don't drink vodka or coffee, but they just looked confused. "No, no, we insist. You are our guests." So we tried to be good guests with the vodka and coffee sitting

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1. These passages from the extensive *Mission Journal of "Sister* (Erika) *Knight"* were selected and edited by Ruth Knight Bailey and Cherie K. Woodworth.

untouched in front of us. We told them about America and missionary work. In Russia, when you call someone "Sister" or "Brother," you use the person's first name, so they thought our first names were "Night" and "Black." He said, "Black, don't worry about the coffee. It is pure, clean, coffee with no spirits in it." They told us about themselves—the wife is a physics professor—and after a nice visit we let them have their Saturday night. We'll teach them another time.

Sunday, March 30, 1996

Ours is the only branch in this mission. We meet in a beautiful old building called "The Palace of Chemists." The chairs have needlepoint seats, the walls are the color of a Virginia forest, and the floors are hardwood. Classy. Lots of non-nembers attend. We have a native branch president, President Hasbulan. Sister Black plays the piano and Sister Robison leads the singing with her gorgeous opera voice. During the meeting, all I could think was, "Am I dreaming? Is this a Mormon meeting? Where is the basketball-court carpet?"

April 1, 1996

It is only my fourth day here and Sisters Black and Robison have had five new baptisms. Today four more people told us they want to be baptized.

I am too tired to write. Must sleep.

April 5, 1996

Today we passed out invitations to church. We also visited Natasha, a nineteen-year-old who is getting baptized. We played a Book of Mormon crossword puzzle with her and her little brother. When we walked home across town, it was dark. There are no street lights. The three of us locked arms, spoke no English, and had our mace ready. Actually, I felt very safe.

April 6, 1996

We don't do much tracting here, but we tried it today, and I was pleasantly surprised. We were invited in the first door. A husband and wife in their twenties asked us all kinds of religious questions. After two hours, they gave us a box of chocolates as we were leaving. We wrote a thank-you note and taped it on their door.

People tell us they are atheists or belong to the Russian Orthodox Church. One told us that the Orthodox Church was just big business and asked if ours was the same. One man asked how I, as a mathematician, could believe in God. In broken Russian I said, "I feel the spirit of God and I see God in other people." He wanted an invitation to church. One lady just wanted to sell us Herbal Life.

April 7, 1996, Sunday

Lots of people we met tracting came to church today. Members and visitors felt welcome. We walked people home afterward, so I felt useful.

April 10, 1996

I am exhausted after shopping in the open air market on the Don River. Things are organized by vendor instead of by product. You find fish, bleach, and makeup on the same table. I accidentally ate a piece of raw fish from a Korean street vendor. I knew raw fish was against mission rules, but didn't even know this was fish until Sister Robison kicked me. I hope I don't have a parasite.

We took a "taxi" home, that is we hitchhiked. Cars drive all over the road in four or five lanes, avoiding potholes, sometimes even going into oncoming traffic. Instead of stopping for pedestrians, the cars speed up and honk five or six times. Hoards of people are always crossing the street, so when it is muddy, cars splash mud on them.

We haven't had hot water for four days. Sisters Black and Robison boil water in metal buckets to bathe with, but I've been taking cold showers.

On the way to Ira's yesterday, Sister Black was quizzing me on the seven Russian verbs of the day. I tried to concentrate on the verbs instead of on the cold rain. An old *babushka* was on an out-of-the-way street trying to sell sunflower seeds. She was shivering and wet like me, trying to earn a living selling stupid sunflower seeds with no customers around. Tears started running down my face—I didn't want Sisters Black and Robison to see me, so I walked behind them. I used to make a fuss about which brand of yogurt Mom bought. People here eat things that are stale, sugary, or fatty, and they appreciate it.

Tithing is very difficult for most Russians. Missionaries are expected to have money left over after buying food and personal things. Greenie missionaries need to learn empathy and generosity, but we are not supposed to give money to people. We are supposed to pay our fast offerings. We need to be safe on the streets, so we can't carry lots of money and be known targets for muggers. I appreciate being here, but I am hungry and cold and can't talk. And then I cry because I should grow up, but can't do it all at once.

April 15, 1996

Today I discovered that some of the *doma* [houses] do not have bathrooms or running water. They have outhouses, and tenants carry water inside with buckets. I had wondered why the buckets.

Babushkas are important for healing people. Some heal only baptized people—any religion's baptism is acceptable—and the *babushkas* know somehow who has been baptized. Given the medical conditions, this may inspire people to ask us about baptism. Nobody sasses the *babushkas*.

April 18, 1996

Today we walked around Rostov visiting people who had not been to church lately. While walking, I thought about how the priesthood works here. I used to think priesthood was sexist, but used right, it does not need to be. We are given church callings to learn and to help others. Men seem more attracted to worldly power than most women. It's funny to call the priesthood a "power"—that probably attracts men—but really priesthood's power is in unselfishly building others, not controlling them. I think a lot of women know naturally about the power that builds up others. I don't mind giving men important titles if it attracts them to being more supportive of others. We are supposed to build up local leaders. Shadow leadership is powerful leadership.

April 19, 1996

Today we visited an Armenian Orthodox church. We have Russian Orthodox and Armenian Orthodox churches here. The priest came over to talk with us. I was glad we had worn *babushka* scarves on our heads. [A woman's head is always supposed to be covered in church.] The priest gave me a necklace. He said that it would protect me from the evil eye. He was very respectful to us, and I felt a good spirit there.

Graffiti here are hilarious—the writers are trying to write bad words in English and don't quite get it (e.g., "FOT YOU"). Teenagers love to practice English swear words on us. Russian swear words have four syllables while English swear words have only four letters, so it is easier to swear in English.

Sisters Black and Robison and I discussed what we can do to look more Russian so that people won't talk to us only because they are curious about America. Here is our plan:

1. Walk more slowly, arm-in-arm (all three of us) like Russian girls.
2. Speak softly and always speak Russian.
3. Kiss our female friends on the cheek when we see them.
4. Wear Russian dresses.

April 20, 1996

Today was Natalia Borchiva's baptism, performed by our zone leader. Standing in the shimmering emerald water with her wet, blond hair streaming down her back, Natasha looked absolutely radiant. Her mother, father, and little brother looked so proud. They love the church but don't believe in God, so it is not yet time for them to be baptized.

May 23, 1996

Today on the street, two little girls started following us, talking to me. One was pointing to herself and repeating her Russian words to make me understand. She was saying, "Wait! We believe . . . we believe in God!" I

gave them each an Articles of Faith card with a picture of Jesus and children. Sister Black gave them invitations to church and told them that we have meetings just for children and meetings for their parents, too. They smiled and smiled.

June 9, 1996, Sunday

My first official sacrament meeting talk was today. I was asked to speak just ten minutes before the meeting began, so I prayed for people to feel the Spirit even if they could not understand me. I spoke on spiritual truths compared to scientific truths—faith and the Holy Ghost compared to seeing and testing, and how things hoped for and not seen can turn into belief and even knowledge. Everyone was quiet (a rare sacrament meeting occurrence). I used simple words, and my talk was short. A *babushka*, named Sveta, on the front row, said the correct case endings to me out loud as I botched the language, so that I could correct myself as I went along. After the meeting, I was told that I have a beautiful accent, a beautiful smile, and it was a pleasure to hear me speak. I used to be afraid to speak Russian, but not anymore.

June 13, 1996

Tonight we taught English at the library. Sister Black went to the front of the room with the *babushkas* and children, and I was in the back with only good-looking men. I felt a little funny when the district leader came in to check on us. The men and I talked about how things were different under Communism. The university students said that in elementary school they had worn striped uniforms, like inmates. A man, about forty, said, "We had money, but there was nothing to buy." There is no reward for working, even if you get paid, if there is nothing to buy. They all agreed that with Communism gone, the mafia runs things, as if there must be an oppressor, no matter what. They wanted to talk about the upcoming election and were curious about what I thought of the candidates. We're not supposed to talk politics, so I told them I had no opinion. I did not tell them our mission home is bugged, but I'm sure it is.

July 11, 1996

Today we walked with a lady going to have an abortion at an abortion clinic. She told us that most women she knows have had fifteen or twenty abortions. This was her sixth abortion, and she is twenty-four. She had never heard of birth control pills. She had heard that in America hospitals are clean, that there are more people who want to adopt babies than there are babies to adopt. She loved her two-year-old more than anything and wished so much to give birth to the baby inside her.

A couple hours later, we saw her walking home with her two-year-old.

Her blouse was halfway untucked, her head was down, and she had mascara smears under her eyes.

In America, people can choose to be "pro-choice" or "pro-life," and can judge people who disagree with them. What choice did this woman have? What kind of life? Many people here have no food. Women do not always have the choice to abstain from marital relations. There is little or no access to birth control. Orphanages do not always have formula for the babies. Sometimes mothers who want children see no choice but abortion, for the sake of the unborn child, and I cannot imagine how hard that would be. Why don't Americans with strong feelings about abortion, for or against, get together and do something to help the women here?

July 31, 1996
The Market

It is forty degrees Centigrade outside [104 degrees Fahrenheit]. Flies everywhere. On one table is a pile of pigs-legs with hooves and fur. At some tables the dead animal's eyes look at you, and you can have the piece cut off that you want. Nothing is refrigerated. We don't buy meat in the market, but we do buy cheese. Tvorog cottage cheese is the best. Sister Yakobikova told me how to make it with nylon stockings and sour whole milk. People sell flowers from their gardens, which I buy every week. The flowers are like bread to me. Kvass, a drink made from black bread, is sold out of a tank, like milk. Sometimes I buy a glass—it's not against mission rules although it tastes sinful.

August 1, 1996

Viktor, a doctor to be baptized August 25, wrote a sacrament meeting talk showing that there are many paths to God, and all bring people to the same God. We didn't know how to tell him not to stand in sacrament meeting and say that Buddha is Heavenly Father, so we discussed his excellent points until we narrowed things down to Christianity and to the restoration. It had to be done, but I really enjoyed his insights about other religions.

August 12, 1996

Tonight, a mother and father we met on the streets fixed a beautiful Russian dinner for us—and Vladim, their twenty-three-year-old son! Only three places were set at the table, but I insisted they sit with us. They wanted to know if I had a boyfriend and about marriage. After we'd taught the first two principles of the first discussion, they changed the conversation to American food. Did we eat "gamboorgeers and cheeps"? When we left, Vladim walked us home!

August 20, 1996

Today Sister Robison and I took Svetlana, who was scheduled to be

baptized Sunday, to President Siwachok's office for her abortion interview. Something happened, and she came out crying. Everyone has abortions here—it must have been more than that. A few weeks ago Svetlana bore a strong testimony, but she also said something about having a spiritual gift and wanting television cameras at her baptism. President postponed her baptism and did not tell us why.

August 23, 1996

We had a first discussion with Seventh-day Adventists who read the Bible every Friday night. We gave them Books of Mormon, and we read Moroni, chapter 7, about faith, hope, and charity. They loved it. They know the Bible better than I do and are respectful of our church.

September 18, 1996

I haven't been keeping up my journal writing, but here are some highlights:

*Last Monday, I ate cow's tongue for dinner at someone's house.

*A family whose house was bombed in Chechenya has moved here and is getting baptized next week. The government has not given them money, and they are having a hard time.

*I love this. The church has sent tons of wooden crates in on the train—food, blankets, clothes.

*Our investigators Seriozha, Lena, and Rustom call us every evening to be sure we are home safely. Last time, Rustom, the ten-year-old, asked us if we had said our prayers yet.

*We have church members from Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, India, and Russia, of course. I love the dancing and the food. My favorite food is Armenian. All these people have such strong love for their home countries. Their languages and cultures are sacred and painful to leave.

*I have started wearing Russian dresses—some elders are jealous of my comfortable dresses and cross-country running sandals. I'd hate to wear a tie, pants, and dress shoes every day.

September 26, 1996

Tonight we taught Stepan and Iraniewee the law of chastity. Sister Robison finished with chastity, and it was my turn to talk about the Word of Wisdom. Something was bothering Stepan, so I paused and asked how he thought living the law of chastity helps people. Staring me down, he said the law of chastity does help people, but he won't live it the way Sister Robison said. In front of his wife, he said it is okay to have sex with other women if they are good friends. There are single women who want children, and he is going to help them. I looked at beautiful Iraniwee as her eyes filled with tears, and she looked into her lap. I asked Stepan how he thought Iraniwee felt about this. He liked her, he said, but he would di-

vorce her and no one else would marry her. Iraniwee is beautiful and intelligent. I said something about love in families and added that Iraniwee was bright and beautiful. Stepan gave me a satan stare and said that all families do not turn out the way they are supposed to. Iraniwee was infertile, and he wanted children of his own blood. He started to give us an earful about neighborhood prostitutes, and I interrupted to tell him that he could talk about this to President Siwachok if he wanted to. He said he would and went to get a watermelon from the kitchen they share with the neighbors. I hugged Iraniwee as she cried. She wants children, too. Their marriage was arranged in Armenia. She likes it very much when we come over.

President has told us not to get mixed up in people's family problems, to turn things over to him. So I called him and told him Stepan would visit him.

September 27, 1996

With our Seventh-day Adventist group, we sang songs and taught the fifth discussion about loving God, loving each other, fasting, and tithing. Their teachings are very similar to ours. They have been attending their meetings on Saturday and ours on Sunday. Olya read the whole Doctrine and Covenants and loved it. All twelve have read the Book of Mormon and loved it. We are not trying to baptize them, but are sharing our beliefs. It will be sad to finish giving them the discussions. I hope they keep coming to church. What good people.

September 30, 1996

Seriozha, Lena, and Rustom are to be baptized on October 27. Tonight, we gave Rustom a Russian copy of "For the Strength of the Youth" and talked about having high standards, self esteem, good friends, and honesty. They loved the little book, but something was bothering Seriozha. He was not worthy to be baptized, he told us, because he is not honest. All three of them live on less than half of what I do, and I don't pay rent. They live in one room, sometimes without enough to eat. Seriozha has been building them a little house in the country by taking extra money from his boss, and no one knows. Though it's wrong, he needs the money for food and doesn't know if he can stop. If he tells the boss, he will lose the little half-built house and maybe his job. He is desperate and suffering. He sees dishonest people with enough food, nice clothes, and cars. At the end of our discussion, he prayed and thanked Heavenly Father that the people at work like him. He asked Heavenly Father to help him work hard enough that they would pay him more money. I have never heard a more sincere prayer. It's hard to hear that such good people have lost faith in themselves.

October 1, 1996

Today while we were teaching a first discussion to a wonderful family

that looked like natural leaders, the two-year-old got restless. The father put the child on his lap and showed him naked pictures in *Playboy* magazine. When the father passed him over to the mother, she kept flipping through the Playboy pages to keep him quiet. Aiee!

October 3, 1996

At my monthly interview, President asked about our investigators. My companion and I have more exceptional people committed to baptism than most full districts in a month or even three months.

"Are you just going to baptize a bunch of women?" President asked.

"They are all families, President."

"Oh, women with children?"

"No, President. They are all families with both mothers and fathers." He looked surprised as if no sister missionary ever found a man who wanted to join the church. Then he asked, "Sister Knight, why aren't you married?"

"I'm only twenty-two. I am on a mission."

He smiled. "Sister Knight, are you going to be completely submissive to your husband?"

Assuming I'll marry someone who respects women and will be equally submissive to me, I answered, "Yes." He leaned back and laughed. I know President likes to tease, but I am wearing thin on this man thing. I feel disrespected. We are not allowed to street contact women, only men with women or men with children. Fine. I want to sustain my mission leaders, and, if it's men they want, I will find men. I just want women treated with respect. Women have earned it, especially Russian women.

October 11, 1996

Tonight was our last discussion with the Seventh Day Adventists. They will try to come to our church and baptisms when they can. Egar got the highest mark possible on both of his seminary exams. He has been called to pastor their church here in Rostov.

October 12, 1996

Today was an embarrassing no-show. Ira and Auton said they wanted to be baptized in November. We heard that Ira does not want to pay tithing, even though we have not given them the tithing discussion yet. We got to the house to find a note saying they were sorry they missed us, but that they had to go pick up their son Anton at school. I wrote them a note back. It takes me a long time to write notes in Russian because I sound out the words and then re-copy in my best handwriting. Just as I started to stick the note on the door with a smiley-face sticker, Anton opened it with a soccer ball in his arm. He looked embarrassed and said he would get his mother. She said she just got back from school five minutes ago. Of course, we had

been there writing for twenty minutes. She had heard us knock at 5:00. I said that since she had just gotten home, she would probably like to eat, and we would see her on Sunday. She seemed so embarrassed that we just let it go.

October 13, 1996

Perfect day. All twelve of our people who are committed to baptism came to church. Fathers and mothers in each family came. Every seat was full.

October 20, 1996

Today we had a special temple conference for all five Rostov groups. None of our members have been through the temple. Our first temple trip will be in two weeks in Stockholm. All the speakers were people going to the temple for the first time. They talked about eternal families, being worthy, and receiving blessings.

When I got home from the conference, I had lipstick marks all over my cheeks from the kisses.

October 22, 1996

Today a general authority came to speak to all the missionaries. Sister Didier spoke first, telling us about how she joined the church at eighteen and served a mission at twenty-one. She counseled us to create an atmosphere of love and encouragement. "*You* are starting a church here." Sister Didier is strikingly beautiful, and she inspired me so much. I want to be like her and come back to Russia some day with my husband. Maybe as mission presidents.

October 29, 1996

Seriozha, Lena, and Rustom were scheduled to be baptized last Sunday, but we had to postpone it. When we met with them this afternoon, both father and mother were tipsy from alcohol. We pretended not to notice and talked about the thirteenth article of faith—being honest, true, chaste, benevolent, virtuous, and doing good. They loved the discussion, yet seemed so helpless to reach for it.

October 31, 1996

This morning we attended a terrible zone conference. President always addresses us as "brethren" with no mention of sisters. I have always included myself in "brethren," but today it was worse. President said we can now only go to baptisms if we are immersing the investigators. Sister Robison asked if we could go to the baptism if we taught the investigator being baptized, and President said, "No!" If not actually baptizing, we needed to be out working, not sitting around at a baptism. As a sister missionary, I

began feeling upset. Then President spoke about priesthood, not mentioning the sisters. Here are some direct quotes from his talk:

"Through the priesthood you hold, you bring people to Christ."

"Priesthood is at the head of the church."

"'Missionary' is a priesthood calling."

"This is the only church with the priesthood. That makes us different."

"Priesthood is the organization of the church."

I started telling myself that President was talking to me, too. I have this calling. I act in God's name. I bring people to Christ. I serve. . . . I looked over at Sister Robison. Sitting perfectly straight on the front row, she was fuming. Her face looked tense, and she fidgeted with her pen instead of taking notes—very unlike Sister Robison.

Afterwards, Sister Siwachok came to see if Sister Robison was okay. She was not okay, she said. The conference was one-sided, and she could not talk to the president about it. Sister Siwachok offered to talk to her, but President came in while we were talking.

I left to talk to him, leaving Sister Robison with Sister Siwachok. I didn't mince words. I told him we feel disrespected always focusing on men—finding men, teaching men, and holding the priesthood. President surprised me. He listened respectfully then quietly said he had heard that some day women may have the priesthood, but not yet. Until then, we need to find male priesthood holders to open branches in this mission. He genuinely complimented my missionary work and told me to keep it up. I asked him if I could go to the baptisms of my investigators. He said yes.

This afternoon I witnessed the most frightening thing I have ever seen. Sisters Robison, Ward, and I were coming out of a store when we heard a terrible thump. We turned to see a white Volga stopped in the road next to the trolley tracks. To the left of the car, a man, maybe in his late thirties, was lying on the tracks. Many people were walking and driving by, but no one stopped to help. It was too late to help anyway.

I stopped. I did not want to look at him, but I looked. We needed to keep walking with everybody else because we had a first discussion at 5:00 and it was 4:48. I tried to walk, but something came over me. Even though I was not there last year when Dad was hit by the car, I saw the whole thing in my mind today. Every part of my body froze. I lost touch with everything around me and could see nothing but a blur.

Then the blur finally cleared. The man's body was still lying there in the rain and mud. Why didn't someone move his body or at least cover it? People crossed the tracks and acted as if nothing had happened. I wanted to move the body myself, to show respect for this life that had ended. It was getting dark and raining hard. Four or five trolleys were backed up until finally some people got off and picked up the body. I thought they would move him inside, out of the rain or into a car, but instead they just moved him between the trolley tracks. His head was maybe six inches from the

track, and the trolleys sped by in both directions. No ambulance came. No police came for a long while. No one covered his body. No one stood by him. It got dark and his body was covered with mud and rain.

We missed our discussion. Sister Ward and Sister Robison did not make me leave. It was as if Dad were near me.

November 2, 1996

Sister Ward and I are to be transferred to a new area in the west with few church members. There are brand new, huge houses, and BMWs, Mercedes, Range Rovers, and Jeeps. I've heard the only way to have much money in Russia is dishonestly—through the mafia.

November 12, 1997

I said goodbye to investigators and friends. Genadi and Lena made a beautiful goodbye dinner for me. The whole time I felt I was going to cry. I hate transfers.

November 29, 1996

We went introducing ourselves to our neighbors. Big mafia-money houses. I am curious and afraid to see who lives in these big, three-story houses with private gates and German cars when for most Russians, the economy is worse than in 1930s' America.

At the biggest house, we pushed the button at the gate. A video camera clicked on, and we heard, "Who's there?" Sister Bogdonova said we were missionaries who would like to make their acquaintance. Surprisingly, the woman said she would come down. As the gate opened, a beautiful dark woman introduced herself. I asked her about God, and she said, "Without God it is impossible to live." Though she was very friendly, a tall, dark man came into the background, listening. He looked like a mafia man in the movies. We invited them to church and quickly left.

December 1, 1996

Today Natasha, Maxim, and Dennis were baptized. They saved up and bought white socks to wear with their baptismal clothing.

December 17, 1996

Olya, a church member, is seven months pregnant. Her sister is a missionary in Moscow. When Olya refused to have an abortion, her husband left her. Now she stays with her father, but her father will not give her money. Being proud, she did not tell anyone, and she has not been to a doctor. When we told President Siwachok, he paid for Olya to go. The doctor said the baby might die before birth because of Olya's poor diet of bread and potatoes. Olya is so alone and scared, and now she must go to the hospital for a month.

Last night on the telephone, in her shaky voice, Olya said, "It is not a bad sickness," as if trying to comfort herself. I told her how brave and strong she was in not having an abortion, but she is in no position to care for a baby. I am terrified to imagine myself in her position—I could not sleep all night.

At 8:00 this morning, I called to see if we could take Olya to the hospital. Her father said she had left alone at 5:00 a.m. to take the bus to the hospital. But the bus does not go to that hospital, and she has no money. Pregnant Olya walked all the way in the cold and dark. Her father said that Olya was stupid; he said he had one good daughter and one bad daughter, and he wanted no part in helping the bad one. He doesn't know where she is, doesn't care, and won't visit her. Yet he is Olya's only family. In Russian hospitals, families must bring food, clothing, and bedding for the patients. I asked him for Olya's full name, so I could find her at the hospital. He did tell me.

For gospel study, I read the Relief Society manual's Word of Wisdom chapter about vitamins—what foods have which vitamins and what they do. Then I made the right foods for Olya. In our biggest pan, I cooked two bags of shell noodles with kidney beans, corn, parsley, cheese, onions, ground meat, and tomatoes, which filled six jars. I put carrot sticks, apples, and oranges into a bag. Also, a box of milk, extra vitamins, a loaf of banana bread, and church magazines.

It was hard to find Olya's hospital, and when we did, she looked awful, so skinny and pale. She looked at the ground and talked about repentance. We asked her what medicine she needed because President will pay for it. "The baby is alive," she said smiling, then wrote a list of medications she needed. I pulled a jar of food from my bag. The beans and parsley have iron, I told her, and so do the vitamin pills. I had to show her how to take the vitamins, and she began to cry. She had heard of vitamin pills, but had never seen any. She said she couldn't take them because they are expensive and that I needed them. In America, I told her, they really are cheap. Besides, I have more. Eat slowly, we said, and only a little at first.

December 18, 1996

Olya told us that she tried eating slowly, but in the middle of the night she ate more and more until it was all gone. I can't imagine how one tiny girl could eat all that, but she did. I want to take food to her every day.

December 25, 1996

Christmas—Today is a regular working day in Russia. Russians celebrate Christmas on January 7. Since today was preparation day, we did our usual shopping and cleaning. People still sell food outside in the snow: oranges and eggs frozen solid. My *sharma* [Armenian bread stuffed with meat] froze today while I was eating it. *Uzhas!* [How awful!] At home, my

bootlaces were frozen, so I had to light the oven and defrost my feet in it before I put the groceries away. This afternoon, we had a Christmas party at the mission home and watched *Fiddler on the Roof.* The package and cards from Mom and the ward in Virginia made it feel like Christmas. Many missionaries didn't receive packages because their families had been told that packages could not get through. I was glad to have something to share.

The Rostov and Volgograd members just returned from their first temple trip in Sweden. They rode the train for thirty-six hours to St. Petersburg, then stayed with members for a few days. Then they took a bus to the coast, then a ship to Sweden. Five families were sealed for eternity, and they stayed two weeks to do as many temple sessions as possible. The church gave each adult six pair of garments. All the branch presidents went too. When I arrived in the mission field, there was only one branch. Now there are five. Natalya Nosonova, from the north, received her mission call to Moscow. She is the first missionary from the Rostov mission, but there will be many, many more.

Elderly Russians are not receiving their "social security" pensions and are starving. Last week, I saw a beautiful little *babushka* digging through the garbage. From a broken jar, she started eating some gook. I walked past, then had to go back. I gave her ten thousand rubles (two dollars)—enough to buy seven or eight loaves of bread. She stood tall, and said she could not accept it. Tears formed in both our eyes. I put the money into her pocket and walked away.

December 30

We are teaching the Goshanokas and their two children. They contacted us after seeing something on television about the church, and they wanted to have family home evening and sing and pray together.
In Soviet times, the state was the idol people were supposed to worship, and it did not feel right to most people. I am beginning to understand how wonderful it would be to be allowed to believe in God after years of Soviet rule.

January 1, Sunday

Ararat, an Armenian, teaches Gospel Essentials half in Russian and half in Armenian. Armenians understand Russian, but they don't want to speak it now that they don't have to. Some Russians went inactive when so many Armenians joined the church here. Nobody speaks about the tension, but sometimes it's there.

January 7, 1997

Russian Christmas Day. Today we had no appointments. President Siwachok told us not to stay home, but to go meet people. I didn't want to intrude on their holiday. I really didn't want to, but I did. I think President

knew and didn't tell us—nearly everyone all day invited us into their homes! They gave us tea, sweet rolls, *varialee*, fruit, and candy. They even wanted to know about Christ! It was like trick-or-treating! I came home with my scripture bag stuffed with goodies. Here, the main Christmas present children receive is candy. So the toothbrushes from our dentist in Virginia were great presents to go with the candy. Really, just perfect.

January 8, 1997

You should see the outdoor market! It was -22 degrees Celsius, snowing and icy and everything is being sold as usual, on top of the snow and ice. I guess there really isn't some place to just go inside. People pull their food and kids around on little sleds. They wrap kids under four in blankets and lay them on the sleds where they can't move.

The people selling the food must get really cold. They have to take their gloves off to count the money. There are some vegetables like tomatoes and cucumbers that shouldn't be sold frozen because when they thaw, they don't taste good. Here is what the sellers did: They wrapped the tomatoes and cucumbers in big blankets inside barrels. In the barrels there were one liter Pepsi bottles with warm water in them, keeping the tomatoes at room temperature. Every once in a while a *babushka* would come with a new Pepsi bottle with warm water in it from home. They kept one frozen cucumber and one frozen tomato out on top of the blanket for display, so people would know what was inside the barrel.

I was very happy to find fresh vegetables.

Sometimes the things people say to sell things are really funny. Almost everyone you walk by yells something at you and at everyone. Here are some of the things I heard today:

"Kto zabyl mandariny? Kto zabyl? . . ."

"Who forgot to by mandarin oranges? Who forgot? Who forgot to buy mandarin oranges? Who forgot? Who forgot to buy . . ."

"Kto ustal ot tarakanov? . . ."

"Who is tired of cockroaches? Who is tired of cockroaches? Who is tired of cockroaches? Who is tired of cockroaches? . . ."

"Dyevuski! Goriachie chebureki!"

"Girls! Hot chebureki! Girls! Hot chebureki! Girls! Hot chebureki!"

There aren't any signs or anything. If you need to walk fast, you might miss what you're looking for, but you can just listen for it instead. I've seen some blind shoppers out in the market. They probably really like it because you don't have to see to know what's being sold.

January 17, 1997

I get joy feeding chicken bones to twenty or so stray cats living underneath our apartment. They gobble the bones and growl at each other, being so very hungry. Sometimes I carry the bones inside my scripture bag—

which my companions think is funny. Last week we gave a cardboard box and an old shirt to a cat about to have kittens.

Olya, who is two weeks from her due-date, called today and said she must give her baby up for adoption. She really appreciated the baby clothes the church sent from Virginia. She is hoping to find an American family like the missionaries who will be able to care for her baby. She cried and cried. Her five-year-old daughter is who-knows-where with her father. I've asked Mom to try to find someone in America who would love Olya's baby and could fly to Russia. President Siwachok will help.

January 22

I got pickpocketed today! 500,000 rubles! Almost $100. Someone saw me take my money out to buy food (as senior companion I was carrying the grocery money for all three of us). I bought some carrots and put my money into my coat pocket. The man came up beside me and asked the seller how much the carrots cost, and five seconds later I put my hand in my pocket and all the money was gone.

THE FIRST TWO THINGS I AM GOING TO DO
WHEN I GO BACK TO AMERICA:

1. Wash clothes in a washing machine (I can hardly wait!).
2. *Drive* to the grocery store in bad weather, go *inside* and put my food into a *cart*. Luxury. I shouldn't be so sour. I really don't mind the frozen, snowy market. I appreciate the food—it's just that I hate being pickpocketed.

January 24, 1997

Today is my one-year mark. It doesn't seem that long.

January 28, 1997

Today we volunteered at the hospital. The elders helped build a small Orthodox chapel near the hospital so priests can bless those who are dying.

February 14, 1997

Dyedushka [Grandfather] asked to be baptized. He is the only elderly person attending our branch. His name is Yurii, but we call him Dyedushka. He's a retired heart surgeon, and everyone loves him.

Many sick missionaries have had to finish their missions in America. Hospitals here are full, and people have to find hospitals in other cities. A fourteen-year-old girl, a friend of several of our teenagers, just died of a high fever from the flu. I brought some aspirin with me—I wish I had known this girl needed my aspirin.

Vera was just diagnosed with breast cancer. Her family has no money for pain killers, let alone surgery. I hope the church will help her. The gov-

ernment won't. Anotoly has a tumor on the back of his head. He has a good wife and two teenage daughters. I fear for both Vera and Anotoly as well as their families.

People at church have been wearing scarves around their mouths to avoid getting viruses. Winter and sickness in Russia go together, and when people get sick, they can't just call 911. Sometimes they just die. The television program *Rescue 911* is shown here, dubbed in Russian. It is very, very popular—I keep getting asked if Americans can really just call to get immediate medical, fire, or police help.

February 19, 1997

People don't have enough food. I have heard little children whisper to their parents for bread. A loaf of bread costs the equivalent of twenty cents, which is difficult for people to come up with. Many haven't received paychecks for months. Rent is about forty dollars a month, and they can't pay it. When their paychecks do come, an entire family usually has about fifty or sixty dollars. We are not supposed to, but it is so tempting to give them money. All we can do as missionaries is pay generous fast offerings, which the local leaders spread around amazingly well. Loaves and fishes. We have more food back home in our pantry than the whole market here.

I got three packages at church on Sunday, thanks to Mom's e-mail friends and the ward in Virginia!!! I gave mini-Snickers bars to everyone, which they ate during church. Olya loved the American baby clothes Mom's friends sent. Her baby is darling, and she wants so much to keep her.

February 28, 1997

Yousuf and Rita couldn't prove they were legally married. They had wedding pictures, but no papers. We feared maybe they couldn't be baptized, but President said the church has different understandings of what legally married means, and they were married in Azerbijan, papers or no.

March 2, 1997

Today on the street, a woman started talking to us. Her husband said, "Let's go," but she clearly didn't want to and kept talking. Suddenly he kicked her viciously in the shins then slapped her so hard she nearly fell. He said when he says come, she is to come. She nervously laughed like the embarrassment was worse than the pain. I couldn't believe my eyes. He did this in front of everyone on the street. Vodka must have a lot to do with this. And that women have no rights. Men at church are all kinder and gentler. I hope the church has something to do with it.

April 25, 1997

Yousuf did something so . . . cute . . . tonight. He's been struggling to

break his drinking and smoking habits, and we've been trying to help by leaving notes and gum and just plain love and encouragement. Tonight he re-decided to absolutely stop drinking vodka and to repent completely. He walked determinedly to the cupboard in their one-room-no-kitchen apartment and took out bread and boiled drinking water. He tore the bread in pieces, poured water into a cup, and put both on a table in front of us. Russian people eat bread and tea all the time, so I wasn't thinking much until Yousuf opened the scriptures and started to bless the sacrament! He was repenting by taking the sacrament. I bit my lip so hard it bled, trying not to smile. I gently said he should take the sacrament after baptism on Sundays. It was so sweet.

April 26, 1997

Today Vika was baptized. I gave her a bouquet of tulips.

Rostov-na-Donu has a new rule that churches other than Russian Orthodox cannot meet in public buildings. We have five branches now, and three have been meeting in public buildings. Where do we go?

May 7, 1997

Lena, Zhenia, and their seven children took Olya and her baby Diana to live with them so that Olya can keep her baby. Olya's father was so moved by this that he is about to be baptized. Soon Olya will work in the meat market, and he will tend his granddaughter.

May 20, 1997

Sister Siwachok told us how her husband Vladimir was born in southern Ukraine as one of seven children. He had only one pair of pants, and when his mother washed them, he had to hide. When Vladimir was six, German soldiers invaded. A hundred families fled to avoid being killed. They trekked through Europe with horses and buggies, but the family was captured and taken to a German labor camp. Germans considered Ukrainians to be Russians, and Russians were enemies. In the prison camp there were twenty families per room, and each person received just one bowl of radish broth and one piece of bread each day. A German lady would occasionally sneak a sandwich to Vladimir's mother, which she hid under her shirt until she could feed her seven children. She would give each child a piece. Once when Vladimir was working in the field, he saw a line of tanks coming and was sure he was about to die. But as the tanks came closer, he saw children running behind and soldiers throwing candy. They were Americans! The Americans eventually took the Siwachoks to New York City. Vladimir thought he was in heaven. Now I understand President Siwachok a little better. With his rough start, he is now a great mission president, who has strengthened people and earned the respect of the Russian government.

President Smoot, the new General Relief Society president, and President Busher of the Seventy came to speak to all of our presidencies. It was so good for our leaders, who are brand new members themselves. It would be frightening to be baptized for only six months and be made Relief Society president or branch president, but that is what happens here.

Also this week something sad happened. Remember how I told you that Anatoly, the second councilor in our branch presidency, had a tumor at the back of his head last winter? The cancer got worse, and the doctors sent Anatoly home to die. Anatoly has two teenage daughters. I remember what this is like. I remember what people in Virginia did for us when Dad was dying.

I made casserole and salad and banana bars and took it to their house. I met the family standing in the door being strong, like our family was strong. His wife, Svetlana, started crying. She told me she did not think she could live without him. He was only forty-six, like Dad.

Anatoly died suddenly at 4:00 a.m. the next morning. They had thought that they would have still at least a few months with him.

Anatoly's funeral was on P-day, two days later, and we went. Russian people usually die at home, and since there is no funeral home, people gather at the house. When we arrived, there was a big wooden Russian Orthodox cross by the door with Anatoly's name, birthday, and death date. People inside all wore black and were crying. No one was talking. Anatoly's body was lying on the bathroom door which had been taken off the hinges and set on two kitchen chairs. He was wearing a suit with a white shirt and tie. The weather was really hot and his body had already started decomposing. Anatoly's ears were blue. I don't know how to explain it—it was not horrifying; it simply didn't look like normal skin anymore.

His wife was sitting by him, touching him and crying. She wore all black and had a black *babushka* scarf over her head. Her lips were moving; she was speaking to him as she cried and moved her head from side to side. Her eyes were swollen and she looked as though she had not slept for the whole two and a half days that Anatoly had been dead. Each person who came to the house brought flowers. His daughters put all the flowers in water.

When it was time to go to the burial, the elders brought a big crate, with red fabric stapled to it, into the room where Anatoly was. Some of the family members and friends scooped Anatoly's body off the door into the crate. The men carried the crate down the steps of the apartment building and outside. The crate was open, with no top. On the way out the door, Svetlana tied a little scarf around my arm like the scarves around the arms of the men carrying Anatoly. She handed me a huge armful of flowers and told me to drop them. I didn't know what she meant and just followed her down the steps and outside with the flowers. Family members had also filled Anatoly's coffin with flowers.

Down the street a ways there was a bus for all of us to ride to the graveyard. The men with the armbands lifted Anatoly's body. Someone pushed me in front of the coffin and told me to drop the flowers on the way to the bus. Then I understood what I was supposed to do. I dropped one flower at a time on the ground in front of the men carrying the coffin. The whole funeral procession followed behind me and walked on the flowers that I had dropped until there was a long path of pressed flowers leading from Anatoly's home.

There was an opening in the back of the bus through which the men slid Anatoly's body. We rode the bus to the cemetery. When we got to the end of the graveyard where the new graves were, we all got off the bus. The men carried Anatoly's coffin to one of the open graves and set it onto a pile of dirt nearby. One of the shirtless grave diggers jumped into the grave and shoveled around the edges. Our branch president began the service. People were invited to share things that they loved about Anatoly at church, at work, and from the family. They were not prepared talks. President Siwachok made some final comments and there was a prayer. Then a shirtless grave digger jumped up out of the grave and another one brought a lid for the coffin and nailed it on. The men then lowered the coffin down into the grave with ropes. Everyone threw handfuls of dirt down into the grave, and then the grave diggers shoveled the rest of the dirt into the grave until it was full. They put the wooden cross at the head of the grave. When this was done, the grave was dedicated. We all walked back to the bus and went back to Svetlana's house where we went our separate ways.

I have lapsed in writing. With less than two months left on my mission, I am having a hard time staying focused on my journal. I honestly don't remember much from before my mission. I feel like I have always lived in Russia. I don't know if I will fit in in America anymore, and I don't know if I want to.

July 6, 1997

I am on the train, trying to remember my thoughts as I woke this morning.

Living in Russia has been like having a little lifetime inside another life. In coming to Rostov na Donu, I felt I was being born into a new world. I depended upon my companions to prepare strange, new food for me and to take me wherever I needed to go. Then I became a cute little *dyevuska* [girl]. People at church encouraged me in my babbling like a baby. They loved my wonder and awe as I experienced their world so new to me. They hugged me and patted my head.

As my Russian developed, my companions gave me jobs to do, and sometimes I thought I knew more than they did—better ways of teaching, serving, and so on. When they wanted to show me how to light the stove, I

thought I could do it myself. I burned off my eyelashes and eyebrows. Pretty soon though, it was like I was a college student. I was taking language tests and living with a companion from the Czech Republic. We weren't quite grown up, but we managed to learn to get along and work together.

The 'marriage' phase came the second time Sister Robison and I were companions. We were equals, and it was wonderful. We worked successfully, learning to communicate as companions, manage our money, and share household tasks. We worked on our relationship as mature people.

Child rearing sneaked up on me. In addition to being a companion and a student, I took on major church callings and heavy responsibilities. After teaching and counseling all day, shadowing the Relief Society president and other new leaders, and volunteering at the schools and the hospital, I did not think I could do one more thing. It was then that I was given greenies as new "babies" of my own! I loved helping new people make their way in the new world of the gospel and the new world of Russia. I was so sad when I lost a "baby" to America (when one of my new trainees insisted on going back), but I was so happy to see the confidence and competence of missionaries I had trained. I loved helping my new members build stronger families and serve others through church programs. I nearly quit writing in my journal because I did not have time to think in the language I had used before this Russian life.

Then one day I looked in the mirror and saw a *babushka*. My dress was worn out. My hair was thin. My joints hurt. I looked older and was so tired. At church, new beautiful missionaries arrived, and members gave them all the attention. I was a little jealous. I was not a cute little *dyevushka* to them anymore. I was Russian, and I was old. I really grandmothered the last two greenies and enjoyed them more. I watched my grown-up "children" training their own less experienced 'children,' and I was proud. I'd order people to go put on a coat, and they would obey me! I was more patient with people; I just wanted to love the people in my Rostov, because I knew I was about to leave them and I didn't want to. Rostov was home. I didn't want to go back to the place I had been before, and I worried so much about the members, hoping they would be okay without me.

My funeral came yesterday. The Russian members—my family—gathered at the train station to say goodbye. Through tears, I was pulled away to return to the life I have forgotten. Now here I am, on a bunk in the train car. I remember only Rostov, and it is gone.

I try to imagine resurrection. I remember Dyedushka telling me, "I wish I were your age, knowing what I know now." Now I think, "Dyedushka, I have been given your wish! I get to take the wisdom of a lifetime learned in your Russia. In America, I will get a hair cut, buy a new dress, and rest. Then suddenly I will be only twenty-two again, with my whole life ahead of me.

I try to imagine friends and family meeting me at the airport in Virginia. I don't remember their faces, but they'll look familiar. Reaching out, they will say, "Welcome home, thou good and faithful servant. You have completed the mission you were sent to accomplish."

Salt Lake Citations

Tim Behrend

A FRIEND WRITES:

In a walking excursion last fall through the old block lying between Fifth and Sixth East, Seventh and Eight South—in a narrow alley behind Charon's Mexican Bakery—I came across a shop of the sort that has become rather uncommon in our city. It is owned by a man equally rare among us in this era of post-agricultural Mormonism.

Architecturally, the shop is an old, hand-hewn extension on an older frame house jutting out in an ungainly way to the very edge of the roadway. It is square in shape, about 20 by 20 feet; its sidewalls are shingled, the roof sealed with tar paper. The original house behind it is a run-down, one-story bungalow devoid of even the homey vernacular charm that age usually imparts to older residences in this part of town.

The front wall of the shop supports two plate glass windows obscured with compound layers of grime and dust. A door-and-transom divides the façade symmetrically in two. On the smaller window of the door, as dust laden and opaque as the others, the stencilled name of the shop can be made out, given a sufficiently bright day and the proper solar declination. The onomastic curiosity lettered there reads "Latter Day Reliquariat." The proprietor does not seem to depend on casual passing trade or pedestrian custom; he appears indeed to make no concessions to business sense as commonly understood. His single effort to communicate his presence to the sea of consumers in Greater Salt Lake is through an ad of three lines placed once each month to coincide with Fast Sunday in the personals of the *Deseret News*:

> Sacred objects for testimony, trials, triumphs. Lovers of Holy Jesus and his Latter-day Saints welcome. [address]

I had not yet seen this ad when, in one of my regular exploratory Friday walks, an anise roll in my hand from Charon's around the block, I happened upon the Reliquariat.

From the front the shop has the look of a former family business, defunct in this generation. I tried the door casually, expecting to meet the re-

sistance of rust and locks, but it swung easily open, quiet on its hinges, and I passed in. An old set of sacrament bells fixed to the upper part of the door frame rang as I entered and again as I closed the door fast. The filtered light of the large windows supplemented by the candlelight from an old-fashioned Cummorah shrine on the right wall provided dim but even illumination.

A white-haired man in a collarless shirt sat writing at an antique mahogany scrivener's desk just in front of a curtained passageway leading back into the house, a tall upturned top hat on the table beside him. Though facing the door I had just entered, he was hunched over his work and did not immediately acknowledge my presence. The interior of the Reliquariat was a jumble of tables and bookshelves all crowded with objects and volumes, obviously for sale, but none of them tagged with a price. I had last visited a relic shop in Provo with my Aunt Eudora Richards Wooley in May of 1945 when she purchased a silver medallion embossed with the four temple signs as supplemental protection for my brother Tom, who was bound for the Pacific. It came back on the chain with his dog tags ten weeks later, undermining with one blow my faith in the efficacy of garments, amulets, and prayer to ward off danger and keep loved ones from harm.

Even after more than 50 years away from such a shop—and never having visited this one before at all—I found the smell and atmosphere of the place familiar and felt welcome in a family sort of way. The owner of the store, finally putting down his pen, gave me a warm greeting as he stood up from his desk and shuffled over to where I stood. With a hearty handshake, he introduced himself as Jesus Gonzales and invited me to browse as I pleased.

There was no unity of things on any given table or shelf, the most disparate objects being mixed higglety-pigglety, the common beside the rare. Most numerous were crafted wares expressing religious themes or reproducing sacred symbols. Thus, they were not relics at all in the strict sense: small steel swords of Laban, golden or brass plates with the Anthon characters on them (pre-Hofmann), scapulars with the Angel Moroni embroidered on one end and the Salt Lake Temple on the other, handsome carved boxes with hidden latches to store the emblems snipped from old garments—or their ashes. All these were familiar objects and self-explanatory. Brother Gonzales stood patiently beside me as I examined them, offering no commentary, pitching no sale.

But each table also had wonderfully unique items, true relics with histories behind them and the promise of intrinsic power or spiritual wealth. These, the old man described as I inquired about them. Memorable was a paper sacrament cup from which one of the Three Nephites was supposed to have drunk while visiting a ward in California that had been experiencing divisiveness. This had taken place on a Fast Sunday some years before,

and everyone had come expecting the testimonies to be full of bile and complaint as each faction addressed allusive aspersions to the other. As members entered the ward house, they passed an old man with a flowing beard and hair, who was seated on the church steps weeping. No one knew him or had ever seen him before. As the meeting began, the members saw that the old man had taken a seat on the stand, and after the sacrament had been passed, he stood to bear the first testimony. Afterwards, no one could remember exactly what he had said; each seemed to have heard a message that testified directly to his or her own soul. And each testimony born after his was filled with humble contrition and such declamations of eternal truth as had never been heard in that ward before. After the meeting everyone embraced and wept. A miracle had taken place. But when they remembered the old man with the beard and sought to thank him for his testimony and to discover who he was, he couldn't be found. One of the priests, recognising what had happened, retrieved the cup from which the man had taken the symbol of the Lord's blood—it seemed to stand out from all the others discarded in the same tray.

On one table were many small boxes with snippets of white material cut from the sacred veils of the Lord's House. A few came as samplers with veil-cloth from several temples packaged together and labelled. On another table was a display case in which small chips of stone, taken from the temples in Salt Lake, Logan, St. George, Manti, and Los Angeles, were carefully laid out. Gonzales explained that these were now extremely rare since the taking of such holy souvenirs by temple pilgrims and youth groups had been forbidden in 1963.

Relics from some of the most saintly Saints of this dispensation had also been gathered by Jesus Gonzalez. These he kept in a special locked case in which a candle perpetually burned, a vile of consecrated oil open beside it. They included the stick on which Joseph bit as a boy as the doctor operated on his leg (deep toothmarks easily visible all around it), a clump of tar and feathers scraped from Joseph Smith's face, a quill used by Oliver Cowdery in his early days as amanuensis to the Prophet/Translator, the quid of tobacco Brigham Young always carried to remind him he'd once been addicted to chaw, a thick swatch of bright red hair from Orrin Porter Rockwell tied with a rawhide thong. The modern day prophets were also represented: pocket lint saved by the undertaker when Joseph F. Smith was laid out, a vial of still uncoagulated blood drawn from J. Golden Kimball at the accident scene, the first insurance policy written by Spencer W. Kimball in Snowflake, Arizona, the typewriter ribbon on which Bruce McConkie wrote the first draft of *Mormon Doctrine,* on which the string of letters GreatandAbominable could clearly be made out.

Jesus Gonzales de Sangre de Christo arrived in the Salt Lake valley at the age of 12, a coattail immigrant, swept along in the wake of his father's passionate conversion to the faith of the Latter-day Saints. Gonzales's *padre*

operated a shop in the old quarter of Veridad Crus on the Andalusian coast that for three generations had brought mild prosperity to the family through trade in holy relics and religious paraphernalia, quaint hagiographies and rare manuscripts. During the Lenten season of 1922, an intense, bearded American spent hours in his shop, quizzing him about the life stories of the Saints whose sundry body parts and pieces he offered for sale in reliquaries ornate or simple. When he, in turn, asked about the man's background and, as a matter of courtesy, his faith, he discovered the man was a missionary with a message that quickly ignited a fire in his soul. This alarming fire soon withered his Roman piety and in time set him burning with a passion to be gathered to the bosom of Zion. There, in the tops of the mountains of the new Jerusalem, surrounded by saints and apostles living, not dead, Gonzales applied his inherited love of the sacred object to his new religious world, and from it drew the moral capital to found the Latter-Day Reliquariat. Jesus helped in the shop for seven years then took it over at his father's death in 1937.

He has continued there ever since, perched behind his escritoire every weekday, opening at 3:15 p.m., closing at 6:00. It was never a great commercial success; it wasn't intended to be. But customers have steadily dwindled since the 1970s, and it isn't uncommon for the cash register to go unrung for weeks. Jesus supplements his negligible income from store sales by working as an early morning janitor downtown at the temple, finishing work each morning in time to join the 5:10 session. Afterwards he walks home down State Street, but the ace bandages in which he wraps his legs are becoming less and less effective. It is only a matter of time until the vacuuming and the fourteen-block walk become too much. Jesus does not expect the Reliquariat to survive him. His only son, an investment officer at Bonneville International, has no interest in the family business.

I was in the shop for nearly two hours and made a single purchase, more as a tribute to Jesus than as an act of personal faith. That commodity remains regrettably scarce in my aging heart. For less than the cost of three hours' parking in the city, I acquired three seeds said to have come from an apple used in an old style endowment session at the St. George Temple in 1879. I was certain that desiccation and age would mean that these kernels would remain no more than souvenirs, decorative bits of antique vegetable matter, memorabilia of the Mormonism of my youth. But on a whim I planted them in a small pot when I got home, and as I sit here typing five months later, a young apple tree is warming in the spring sun that pours through the window of my study. I plan to transplant it to the back yard this weekend. I am already thinking with projected nostalgia of generations of fall fruit it will provide for my children's children's children. Thank you, Jesus.

The By-pass

Lewis Horne

IF I LOOKED UP THE ROAD from the irrigation ditch, I could see the churchhouse bumping stiff and dark against the sunset's blaze. "The old churchhouse," people called it now. "The old churchhouse," said Reuben Crandall, standing beside me on the bridge. His troubled feelings about the matter rumbled with his words. "My old man helped build it," he said. "It breaks my heart to see it."

"It breaks your heart?" I said.

"It breaks my heart," he said. "You think I don't got me a heart?"

Reuben hadn't been in any churchhouse, old or new, since I could remember. But he had his point. Now that the new one was finished for use, carpeted and painted, spic and span for worship, the wrecking machines were taking on the old building tomorrow. After everything was cleaned away, there'd be small chance the new steeple was tall enough for us to see it from where we stood. The new churchhouse was not two stories high with a peaked roof over its red brick walls and a pile of steps to climb to the whitewashed double doors in front. Its steeple was skinny as Reuben's arm while the old one didn't have a steeple at all. But we could see its roof.

"People got no right to make fun of my religion," he said.

"Since when were you religious?"

"It's the making fun."

"Not making fun of your religion, Reuben. We're just getting a new churchhouse. You know how hard it was for Hattie Belle Johnson to climb those steps. We're making it easier for her and Tom Sirrine and the oldtimers. We're getting a new electric organ in place of that old pump affair. We're getting more classrooms and a new gymnasium. People kept stumbling on the cracked concrete of the basketball court out back. We'll have air-conditioning."

But I had a heart, too, and it didn't beat strong behind my words. Reuben couldn't place every creak in the floorboards the way I could. He didn't know you had to ease the swinging doors to the foyer shut behind you or you'd set a clatter. He didn't know the ratchet of the front overhead fan.

I knew the pit that lay under his heart.

Tobias, one of my grandkids, came running up. "Grandma wants to know if you're ready to leave."

Unlike Reuben, I wouldn't be seeing much of any steeple even if I talked like "we" would. I lived in town now, in a house Melba and I had built. My boy Ephraim ran the farm. He was in the "new" bishopric, the one that had superintended the ward during the building of the "new churchhouse." He'd probably be part of the old bishopric pretty soon. He's a good man. I say that for him, whether you think I'm opinionated or not. He might have shared some of the feelings Reuben and I felt. We hadn't talked about it. But I knew he'd worn away many hard hours getting the new building up.

"Good seeing you again," Reuben said, roughing young Tobias's hair, but speaking to me. "Best not keep Melba waiting."

I watched him climb into his car where he'd parked it by the mailbox. His Su died almost four years ago. It pained me to think of him going to his empty house without Su to nag and him to gripe, the two of them to cuss. They were the sort who got along best nattering, even with Su's bad heart and diabetes. Then there was Reuben's drinking. Hitting the old sauce, as they say, something that his breath was seldom clear of.

He'd be driving right by the churchhouse. And he'd be grumbling while he did it.

*

Reuben Crandall was what some people called a reprobate, an "old reprobate." Fair enough. But back when I knew him early on, he was "a young hellion." Not long after getting home from the War where he'd been with the Seabees in the Pacific, he'd married Gayla Su Libhart. Theirs wasn't an interrupted romance. It was new for both, though they'd known each other all their lives. But Su was five years older, and over some of those years, five of them makes a difference. When Reuben was a Boy Scout, Su was a boy-crazy teenager. When he was a teenager, she was a working woman in her twenties, keeping books at the lettuce packing shed. By the time Reuben got back from the war, Su had divorced Darwin Poole and had an eight-year-old boy named Norry, a smart-aleck eight-year-old boy, a mouthy eight-year-old boy. When she stopped where Reuben was irrigating to ask if he'd seen the smart-aleck boy playing in the irrigation ditch, he knew her right away. They talked a bit. Even though he hadn't shaved, he asked her if she'd like to go to a movie next Friday. Afterward, they had a beer at the Waldorf. She didn't look five years older, he decided. She looked like some of the girls he knew in Honolulu.

Su was small, bony, dark-skinned. She had short curly hair and a moody, almost truculent, look to her face as though she had too much on her mind and was muttering to herself as she tried to sort it out. But she'd

always give you a smile, what smile she had, and she would sometimes, like her mother, give you a glimpse of her claws though without as much malice as the old lady would. Su would skewer someone with an aside and then laugh in a way that suggested she didn't mean what she said when you knew that she knew what she was doing and intended it the whole time. She hadn't accidentally let a single word "slip." So-and-so loves those dollar bills, she'd say. Somebody else beats on their kids too much, never could understand what Verone saw in him. But then, Oh, she'd laugh, I like So-and-so, I like Somebody else. I like Verone, too. They're good people.

I don't want to make Su sound mean, not when she's in the grave. I wouldn't want to make her sound mean even if she was here to defend herself. But there were things about Su—the way there are about all of us—that Reuben must have ached about even as he laughed. Reuben and Su have been friends with Melba and me ever since they married, and dark-skinned Norry was friends with our own curly-headed Ephraim, through all their growing up.

On our way back to town, Melba asked, "So what's Reuben up to these days? The world still against him?"

When I told her what he'd said about the churchhouse, she told me, "I feel the same way. So do Ephraim and Rose." Rose is Ephraim's wife. "But isn't it like Reuben to complain about what's got to be? He don't complain about something he could make a difference with. He still stink of drink? Still complain about Su?"

"He's a lonely man," I said.

"And that boy Norry is no help for him."

Melba didn't dislike the Crandalls. But she'd never been friends with Su the way I'd been friends with Reuben. After all, Reuben and I had grown up together the way Ephraim and Norry had. Where Su was skinny and fierce, Melba was big and smiley. Even in high school, she was what you'd call motherly. Now, she was a big woman, big around the hips, big in her smile, big in the quiet sympathy you could hear in her voice. She had a pretty face. If you felt bad and she smiled at you in her pretty way and put her hand on your shoulder or your arm or your knee—she was the sort who had to touch you when she said something to you—and she said something as simple as "Oh my," you couldn't help feeling better because you knew that here was someone who cared about you and your twisted soul. She was that kind of person. It was in her nature.

If she seemed to be grumbling now, it was because she could feel in some way the loneliness Reuben was feeling just by knowing he was feeling it. That feeling would take her straight to Norry, who was no help to Reuben or anyone else, she said.

"I know how Norry was raised," she said. "I know that Su wanted him to be friends with Ephraim because Ephraim is such a stable and easy-going boy. Maybe being around Ephraim would keep Norry in line." Some

people would say Ephraim was a "dull" man to be around, but everyone liked him and his gentle, trusting, easy-going ways. He had his mother's nature. "I don't believe he was much of an influence on Norry, but no one person can be to blame for that."

"Still, it's too bad things have to change," I said, going back to the churchhouse. We passed the cemetery and crossed the irrigation canal. I thought about Su under the ground. I thought, too, about our little one, the straggler, our fifth, our last, who was out there in a tiny box under the ground, too.

"Things are going to change," she said. "Whether you and Reuben like it or not."

*

Within a week, I was out at Ephraim's again, helping put up some shelves in the storeroom for Rose's canning. On my way out, I passed the rubble of the old churchhouse, but I only shook my head at the wreckage no one had started to haul away yet. On my way back, I saw Reuben stopped there, leaning against the car in his rumpled khaki shirt and trousers, reading a book.

That's right. Reading a book.

Early August. The middle of a hot afternoon. The sun smashing your forehead and eyelids to a squint.

"What the sam hill," I said. "Must be a good book."

"Haven't read one of these in a long time." He held up one of the westerns he and Su used to read, their living room and bedroom piled with paperbacks.

I said, "We sure used to play at that stuff as kids, didn't we." So did Ephraim and Norry when they were growing up. "I remember Hoot Gibson, Tom Mix—"

"There was a bunch of them. How come you were always the bad guy?"

"Was I? I guess because you always wanted to be the good guy."

"Did I?"

"Sure enough, Reuben."

"That's a laugh, isn't it?"

"What're you reading a book out here for?" His khaki shirt was damp under his arms. His forehead was sopping up into his brush-cut and still thick gray hair. One drop of sweat hung from an overgrown eyebrow. "You'll ruin your eyes."

"Stupid, isn't it?" he said.

I said, "When you coming for dinner? You know Melba and me want it. You can see what I been doing to fix the place up. The invitation's been open—well, you know how long the invitation's been open." Since Su died.

Just before we moved to town over three years ago. That's how long it had been. "I'm still fixing. Melba's always got something she wants done, even in a new house."

"I'm not a town man," he said. "You know that. I'd as soon be shot. Sometime I'll surprise you though."

It wasn't fun to think of Reuben alone in his house. No wonder he was reading Louis L'Amour in front of a heap of boards and bricks and cement chunks on a heat-stroke kind of day.

"Why didn't I play the bad guy?" he said. "I bet you Norry played the bad guy with Ephraim and the other kids. Do you believe in sin?"

I waited for my face to settle before taking that question. "Yes," I said, though I couldn't remember the last time I used the word. Something bad, something wrong. Those were the kinds of words I used. Some kind of human activity.

"Drinking's a sin," he said. "Cussing's a sin. Smoking's a sin. That right?"

"Reuben, are you trying to call yourself a sinner?"

"Killing's a sin. Not doing what you're supposed to do. That's a sin."

He held the book as though he was ready to dip his nose to it any minute.

"Now if all this was in a book," he said, "I wouldn't be standing here." He pointed with Louis L'Amour to show that "this" meant everything spread out around him, the wreckage of the old churchhouse, the spiffiness of the new, with Reuben himself included—along with probably everything he'd done or had done to him. "Maybe Norry would be if this was a book, standing here, I mean, depending on the kind of book it was. Maybe Norry would be here. Things come out right in books. You know Willy Child is buying out Norry's half of the Sand and Gravel? The two of them don't get along no more. I'm not sure Norry is carrying his share of the work. I'm not sure but the Sand and Gravel won't go better without Norry there messing around."

"Those boys made it a good business."

He gestured to the rubble. "Somebody should clean this place up." The "place" would be part of the parking lot for the new churchhouse. After the rubble was cleared away, someone would spread the surfacing for a parking lot. They'd put out some shrubs and flowers and a bit of lawn. Already, I had problems remembering what the old place looked like. The dusty brick, the torn boards, the bits of twisted iron. Bits and pieces.

"I suspect embezzlement's a sin, too."

Norry had always been a problem, even when he was eight years old, and Reuben married his mother.

"I was too little to help much," he said, "but I remember my old man up on the beams when they were putting on the roof of the old building. He'd come down here after milking, and big and slow as he was, he'd

climb up there and work while others was laying brick. I was scared he might fall, and I wondered why somebody else couldn't do what he was doing. But he didn't know how to lay brick, he said. Every man does his bit."

"So Willy Child is buying Norry out?"

"Do you remember when Chad Snowhill got killed? It was Norry. He admitted it. Course it was night and the Snowhills didn't have their car lights on. But who else would be driving home drunk and run into them?"

"That could have happened to someone sober."

Reuben tossed the book into the front seat of the car. He started to rest his elbows on the top, but the metal was too hot. "You remember after that? That woman in town? Getting out of her car with a bag of groceries?"

'You're not saying that was Norry—?"

"Drunk that time, too. Nobody living knows it to this day but me and Norry. And now you. Months later, when he told us, Su and I tried to shoo him to the police. I should have turned him in myself. That was a sin."

This one caught me off guard.

"Sure ain't much like a book, is it?"

Front page news it was. Who could have driven away leaving the woman on the ground and her child—four years old, five—in the car hysterical? No hint of who the driver was. Not a trace. What kind of car had he driven? No one knew. How could such a person live with himself? Yes, I remembered. Lots of people remembered still.

He chuckled though he plainly didn't think anything was funny. "It's a hell of a thing to think about. But what can you do?" He touched the top of the car again gingerly. "Breaks your heart, don't it?"

*

So I knew that Reuben had a lot on his mind. Don't we all?

Melba and I were lucky. Friendly as Ephraim and Norry were growing up, Ephraim never lurched into Norry's ways, and our girls grew up fine. They all found good husbands. Some of them have kids. Ephraim tried what he could with Norry. He tugged a bit here, a bit there, but Norry had no interest in Scouts, in church, in any of the good-boy stuff that Ephraim had a natural good-boy interest in. They stayed friends, though, maybe because Ephraim was never a talker and, not being a talker, he was never a preacher. He was a doer. Norry talked and, headstrong like he was, he "did" as well. But where Ephraim might be slow, he was sure and steady. Where Norry could be quick, he was like a rabbit, jumping and leaping, covering lots of ground, but not lighting long anywhere.

Melba couldn't believe that Norry had driven hit-and-run. "And Reuben's known it all this time?" She was baby-sitting. Pregnant with her third, our oldest girl was off to the doctor, so we had her two daughters for

a couple of hours. Melba took the two little ones and a storybook into her lap. "He should of told the police himself," she said as they settled. "No wonder he's looking so dark and down these days. Norry's health can't be good either, can it? He had that triple by-pass right after Su died. Hardly forty years old at the time. Reuben must have a lot on his mind."

"Forty-four."

"That's what I say. Norry was hardly forty years old when he had the by-pass. But then Su had a weak heart, and so did her mother. It must be in the blood. It takes my heart to think of people unwell."

"A bouncing old horse like you," I said.

She read from a collection of Book of Mormon stories for children. This time, it was about Samuel the Lamanite preaching repentance. I pretended to read the newspaper, but I did like to hear Melba read. I liked the newspaper better when she read it out loud. When she read, giving each syllable the time it needed, I felt I was looking into a stream of water, all of it clear enough you could see the rocks cool and plain at the bottom.

Her reading made the house feel more like home, too. We'd left most of the furniture on the farm for Ephraim and his family. Here, too much of the stuff was still bristly with store feeling. The rug hardly looked walked on. The couch and chairs felt as stiff as when the men from Montgomery Ward carried them in, and you wondered if the drapes and blinds had been up long enough to need dusting. The place didn't yet have our smell.

Melba had said at the time that the strain of his mother's death must have been too hard for Norry. When you're not used to keeping your anger back and your impulses, it must be hard to hold back on sorrow. He and Reuben were both sober for the funeral, however strong they smelled. Melba was Relief Society president when we were on the farm, and she kept people moving in and out of Reuben's house. Meals. Extra food. Cleaning. "Let those two sit around the house by themselves—!" She'd liked to have spirited out the liquor. "What would Su think if they showed up drunk at her funeral!" "Ah, Melba," I said. "Well, then, tipsy!" So they were sober, Norry's head shiny with its premature baldness, his brown eyes teary, his dark cheeks flushed. Then a couple of months later, he was in the hospital.

With Su's loss still fresh, I went a couple of times with Reuben to see him. The two of them didn't talk much, Norry with needles stuck in him, so I said how I was sorry to see Norry down and out, how I hoped he would soon be better, how I'd like to help out if anything had to be done. That kind of thing. All the kinds of things that I knew Reuben was trying to say. Sometimes Willy Child was there. But he didn't have much to say either. Those were tough visits. It was better when Norry's wife and their two teenage kids were there. This was one of the times they weren't living together, but they were still married. They were trying to be nice in front of the rest of us, Su still on our minds; they talked a lot about nothing, making

jokes about the tubes and the machines Norry was hooked up to. "Don't turn off that machine before I come back," she said as she was leaving. We all laughed the way we were supposed to. She moved back into his house when he got out of the hospital.

*

The next time I drove by the churchhouse, the rubble was cleared, the parking lot leveled, ready to be surfaced. The new churchhouse was low and flat with green sod and shrubs around it. The steeple by the entrance looked sharp as a needle. I could barely see it from Ephraim's driveway.

Ephraim said that Reuben had been in church last Sunday. "I told him it was good to see him," he said. Reuben told him Melba and I would split our britches in surprise, and Ephraim laughed and said he was right and we would likely do that.

"In the new churchhouse?" I said. "The way he hated to see the old building go, I'm plain dumbfounded."

So was Melba.

"Too much goes too quick," Reuben told me later.

*

Not three months after Reuben started going to church, Norry was back in the hospital. His last move, his last rout. His wife had moved out again and his two boys were away, one in California working, the other in the navy. Norry and Willy Child weren't seeing much of each other anymore, not after their partnership broke up though Reuben said they were still on speaking terms.

I think we all knew it was his last time. In pain, Norry had called Reuben just as Reuben was leaving for an AA meeting. "Can you come to the house?"

"That's what scared me," said Reuben, "that he actually called me. He said he was hurting. Norry's never admitted to hurting before. He only ever hurt with little things that an ordinary man wouldn't complain about. The bad things? Forget it. They didn't bother him. I got to his place in time to take the ambulance with him."

The doctors pulled him through that first night, Reuben said. Norry was in intensive care for three days.

The night before he died, I was alone with Norry for a few minutes. Reuben was late. Norry's face still had the flush that went with his drinking. His baldness was red and splotchy. But he had a pallor behind, down inside. His brown eyes, glistening with a touch of moisture, looked tired. Those quizzical wrinkles of his lifted into his forehead. He had a tube for oxygen that he sometimes breathed through.

"Reuben's got the guilties," he said, his voice slow and broken. He'd been one of the kids who call their parents by their first name. "Su and Reuben."

"You mean the way he's going to church?"

"I don't know why," he said. "I don't have them, the guilties, and if anybody should, I should. I put five thousand dollars into the church building fund. Did you know that? I like to think I paid for the steeple. You look surprised. Ask Ephraim. He can tell you. Five thousand dollars. Reuben don't know it. Why does Reuben have the guilties? Why should he have to get around this?"

"I don't know." I thought of Norry hit-and-running the woman in town. I thought of her groceries spilled over the street and of her little boy screaming. I thought of Chad Snowhill and the country road at night. "Some people get the guilties, and some people don't," I said.

"He wishes I did."

I remembered when Reuben told me about the hit-and-run. "Because Reuben thinks you're a sinner?"

"Did he tell you that?"

Me and my mouth.

The machine beside the bed had lights on it, gauges, needles. "That's keeping me alive," he said. He had a needle on the underside of one hairy arm. Then back to Reuben. "He never told me I was a sinner. Maybe I should have felt like a sinner. Maybe I got a rock instead of a conscience."

Outside, the sun was going down, and I was wishing Reuben would hurry.

When he came in a few minutes later, Norry grinned and asked, "Hey, Reuben, you think I'm a sinner?"

Reuben just looked at him, wary.

"Sinning belonged to the old churchhouse; that's what I say," said Norry. He'd always had a bit of a giggle, and he giggled now. It sounded weak. He didn't sound like the hell-raiser he'd been trying to be all his life.

"You don't mean that," snapped Reuben.

"About the old churchhouse? You better believe it."

Reuben didn't speak. I think he felt, like me, that Norry was doing a kind of hospital bed swagger. He might be picking up something impish and willful from the machine and the IV. Or from somewhere else.

Norry shifted his eyes to me. "Ephraim asked me for money, for a contribution," he said. Reuben looked puzzled. "For the churchhouse, Reuben. You got a new churchhouse. And you got a steeple. That's my contribution."

"You can't put back what's gone," said Reuben.

I thought Norry was going to giggle again. "I never tried," he said. "Never intended that."

We talked a bit more. But Norry seemed to be tiring. It was a strange

conversation, going in two or three different directions, like me and Melba talking while she was paying attention to the grandkids. I knew that Reuben was puzzled to learn that Norry had given money. I knew that Norry chuckled to himself over Reuben's perplexity. I knew, too, that Reuben was trying to take hold of something, something he wanted for himself. More was gone than the old churchhouse. More was missing than he wanted to admit. Norry simply shrugged; it was gone, and either there was nothing he felt he could do or nothing he wanted to do about it. I knew Reuben had Norry hitched in his mind to the new churchhouse. But what he connected with the old I don't believe he could say.

Isaiah said, "I am a man of unclean lips, and I dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips." Norry would never say this. Maybe Reuben wanted to. But maybe with the old churchhouse gone, he thought it was too late.

*

So Reuben had the guilties. Not Norry. We left him that night, saying, "See you tomorrow."

"Yeah," he said, "see you tomorrow." Later, when the nurse entered, he told her to "pull the plug." So I heard after. I imagined the lights on the machine going out, the needle on the gauge collapsing. Norry was gone by morning.

At the funeral, Reuben told me, "I'm not pulling the plug on them." He meant Su and Norry. Probably he meant Norry's wife and kids, too.

He kept going to church. He kept going to AA meetings. He sang hymns all the way to Chandler, he said, driving and singing the distance every week. "'Put Your Shoulder to the Wheel,' 'Give Said the Little Stream'—all of them," he said. "Not since I was a kid. I didn't know I remembered so many." Not so long before he died, he went to the temple. "An old reprobate like me," he said. "You ever dream that would happen?" But Su was waiting for him over there, over beyond, and if he didn't set it up for them to be together, which was one thing he wanted—not the only thing, but one of them, believe it or not—who was going to do it? With clean or unclean lips. That's what he said.

The Charity of Silence

Todd Robert Petersen

THIS IS THE STORY of my father's demise. It wanders when I tell it, and I never know when to bring in the polygamy, so I just do and let matters take care of themselves. People don't understand it was not supposed to be that way. The sickness of living like that turned my father rotten. We were surrounded by shame. My fiancée noticed right away that I mention only my grandparents when I speak of my youth. I have yet to tell her about my childhood, how absurdly it ended. When I back away from those years, from the moment my father fell into what we initially thought was prayer, I can see how hilarious and stupid it could seem to someone who didn't live through it.

We were all in the main house. My father was hollering about money, shaking his fists and slamming them down on the kitchen table, which was covered in unpaid bills. As I remember, it was late in the day and his face was bathed in a golden light that made his anger seem like a scene on a book jacket.

"By God," he hollered, "you women need to get jobs or we're going under." Aunt Jackie had just come home; she didn't even have her jacket off. "I can't claim the kids you keep begging for," my father barked to everyone and no one in particular. "I can't claim the ones we've already got. The IRS would throw me in jail so fast you wouldn't have time to say good-bye, and then where would you be?"

Aunt Jackie said something to my father as she set her briefcase on the countertop, but I didn't hear it. She smiled afterwards, though, and Aunt Colleen laughed to herself, so he wouldn't hear it, but he did anyway, and he rose from his chair. His chest was heaving, his eyes ratcheting from me to Aunt Jackie to Aunt Alice to Aunt Colleen to Aunt Deirdre. Everyone stopped what they were doing and stared down at their shoes, except Aunt Jackie who untucked her blouse from her skirt and went to the sink for a glass of water. My father lunged at her and then froze, shouting like someone speaking in tongues. His hands flailed, then he fell to the floor.

Everyone stood and watched him lie there. The kitchen cabinets looked like they'd been shellacked with honey, and the shadows of leaves from the cottonwood outside rustled against the wood grain and the plastic knobs. I

have always thought it strange that a crisis should have been so beautiful. Perhaps this beauty is why we were so willing to believe he had fallen under the spirit.

Aunt Colleen said, "Dear God in heaven, what's happened?" Aunt Alice knelt down at his side and took his pulse at the wrist. Aunt Deirdre said he must be caught up in a vision. I saw his eyes twitch a couple of times right after, so I thought he was faking. Aunt Deirdre didn't believe me when I told her. She said I had to show more faith. "The Lord doesn't give miracles to the troubled," she said.

"Then who does he give them to?" I asked. "Doesn't everybody have troubles?"

"Only the sinners do, sweetie," she said.

"Aren't we all sinners?" I pressed.

"Oh, heavens no," she said, looking to Aunt Colleen for help she didn't get. "We're living in the covenant, Freddie," she explained. "It's a higher law. Sinners can't live the higher law. Everyone knows that." I looked up at Aunt Deirdre, and she nodded; Aunt Alice did too. For a while, at least, I put my trust in them. I mean, they really wanted to believe. Aunt Colleen cleared the bills and set the table. Even though our father had "fallen into discourse with the Lord," we sat down to dinner without moving him. Aunt Alice thought it would rouse him, and nobody wanted that.

After we were seated, I looked out on the table full of my brothers and sisters. I was the oldest by five years. There was Amy, who was seven, then Carrie, who was four, Colby, who was three, Dahlia, who was almost three, Corey, who was eighteen months, David, who was a year, and Jared, who was only six months old. Aunt Alice was pregnant again, but it didn't show, and Aunt Colleen and Aunt Deirdre were both about to give birth. Aunt Jackie was so busy with her job as a lawyer in Ogden and traveling the seventy-five miles each way from our farm to the city that she had let six months go by without letting herself get in the family way. I think my father was upset about that too, even though he wasn't letting on. I'm sure he was caught between having the extra money and dealing with an uppity wife. The other ones were obedient enough that I'm sure Father didn't feel like he had to throw Aunt Jackie out of the house as an object lesson.

We had separate houses, single-wides laid out across the property. We called them "The Village." Everyone pretty much lived in their own houses, but we came together for meals. My father said he was not going to skulk around from house to house like a cat burglar. His wives would come to him, by God, in the house with a foundation. "The scriptures give no counsel on skirting," he would say. But that didn't stop the complaining or the jockeying to move out of The Village.

We had a blessing on the food and on Father, who lay at our feet, then we ate in silence. Half way through the meal, Colby started throwing his corn at Father, which bounced off his face and shirt and rolled onto the

floor. Amy and Carrie and I were scolded for laughing, and Aunt Deirdre sent Colby away from the table with Aunt Colleen. We were told not to interrupt Father's commune with the Holy Spirit.

"What's a commune?" Amy asked.

"It's like praying," I said, but I knew the word had other meanings.

"That's right," Aunt Alice said, cutting Carrie's meat.

"How come he's not kneeling?" Carrie asked.

"Because it's holy praying. Not everyone gets to have the Spirit as strong as Daddy does," Aunt Deirdre said, making it clear that we were done talking about our father's relationship with the other side of the veil. Had I been older, I never would have sat still for it. All I knew was that it seemed rotten to me. Spit was already starting to dry on the corners of his mouth, and by morning he smelled of piss.

*

The next afternoon when the kids in the main house were all having naps and I was done with my lessons, Aunt Alice came to my room and started telling me that Father was a prophet. "God is showing your daddy the beginning and the end all at once," she explained, "and knowing that people are worse than dust motes has knocked him out with the spirit." She looked around suspiciously, like she didn't believe it herself. "When he comes back into his strength, he'll expound his time with the Lord to us, and we'll all be edified. That's all your daddy ever wanted."

"How do you know what he wanted?" I asked.

She put her hand to her mouth and shut her eyes for a moment. "What he wanted was to edify his family," she said, sitting primly on the edge of my bed. I wanted to tell her to get out, but I didn't have the courage then, and whatever courage I might have had, my father had whipped out of me in the barn, something that had begun when the other women started trickling in. "When your mamma was dying," Aunt Alice said, "your father set with her and read the scriptures aloud. She's the one who told him to take other wives once she passed. She said the women of the church weren't with the kind of men who could get them to heaven. She said God would direct him in this, the Lord had spoken to her through her fevers, and she knew it was right. Then she told him to unplug the life support machines and leave the hospital."

I stood up and left.

Alice called after me: "Better that one woman should die before her time than a whole family should dwindle in unbelief and wickedness!"

I stormed downstairs and found Colleen bent over my father with a damp dishcloth. She wiped the corners of his mouth where his saliva had dried, and she snatched a kernel of corn from inside his shirt collar. I watched his eyes; they were motionless. His breathing was still shallow

and slow, slower than yesterday—slower than when someone's sleeping—but there was no snoring.

"You understand what he did for your mamma, don't you, Freddie?" Colleen said. Before I could answer that I did not, she took my father hands up one at a time and folded them over his heart like a dead man's.

"Don't you dare set him like that, Colleen," Aunt Alice said, following me into the kitchen.

"I've got to sweep," she said.

"A man is receiving revelation from the Lord, and you want to put him up like a corpse, so you can get your chores done? Sweep *around* him for heaven's sake. Better yet, don't sweep at all. You want to be responsible for taking him out of the spirit?"

"I thought the Lord delighted in cleanliness," I said.

Aunt Alice charged toward me and slapped my face, saying, "The Lord also said to honor thy mother and father—and not with a smart mouth."

"You're not my mother," I sneered, walking past. Aunt Colleen let her hands rest against father's forearms. Aunt Deirdre stepped back against the refrigerator, so I wouldn't crash into her. I thought Aunt Alice was going to tell me to wait until my father returned, then I'd regret my disrespectful ways, but she didn't, and I walked out of the kitchen and into the side yard.

*

That was the break for me. I knew my father was most likely dead, not in communion with the spirit. I say I knew, but that's probably not how it went. I'm sure I wished he weren't dead, that he might come back to life, repentant. As much as I hated him, I still thought he would set things right. I remember that my anger was exhilarating. Understanding it helped me stand apart from the rest of my father's families.

I was the oldest, the first-born. I had rights they had been keeping from me. I stormed out of the house. The air that afternoon was crisp, not yet autumn, but the change was on its way. The wind seemed to blow straighter and with more intent, which was probably just a change in me. The wind had been two thousand years out of the canyons like that and would go on like that until the millennium. Fuming, I bore across the yard and into the barn. Though it was the site of those whippings, I still took refuge there. It was a place that lay beyond my father's reach. My mother used to shear her sheep there, card the wool, and get it ready to spin into yarn and thread for her looms. After she died, Father sold the sheep and the looms and gave the wheel back to his mother. He told her it needed to stay in the family and change hands in a proper way. My grandmother's eyes grew narrow, and she turned her head slightly to one side as if she were listening for a sound in the wind.

What my grandmother could not have known was the perversion he

had planned. Eventually they found out, but then it was too late. Had they known earlier, I imagine they'd have taken me away right there. My grandfather might even have trained his shotgun on my father and told him to drive away and never come back. The quiet in their voices tells me they'd have been fierce in rescuing me.

*

Before they were married, Father had brought Aunt Alice to stay with us. He'd changed over a room for her in the main house when it was the only house on the property. She had moved her things in, hanging that long blue painting of heaven above her bed and placing a jar of dried flowers in the center of the windowsill. Father was still farming most of the land and said he needed someone to look after me.

Women from church came by, bringing us our meals. That's when the gossip started. As I remember, the neighbors started treating us differently a month or so before I first heard Father and Alice together. I woke thirsty in the middle of the night and heard Alice screaming my father's name. I was six and didn't know that love could sound violent. Moonlight bleached my room white and threw a cage of mullions on my covers. The wind howled across the eaves and made the air seem to shimmer, though I knew it was only the tree branches.

When Alice's cries became more rhythmic, I crawled out of bed and squeezed through my door into the hallway. The nightlight my mother had placed in the outlet just outside the bathroom door cast a sheer yellow light against the wallpaper and wainscoting. My father's door was closed, and the gap between the door and the pine floorboards was dark. I tiptoed down the hall and heard a clacking in my father's room, like shutters banging against the window frames in a storm. I bent down and put my ear to the threshold and could hear my father breathing through his nose the way he did when he was carrying feed bags or setting fence posts. The silence that followed was deep and unbroken.

I don't remember my father picking me up and carrying me back to my bed, but he must have because I woke in my room with the covers pulled up around my ears. It had snowed during the course of the night, and the shine of it blasted into my room like music. I had to squint when I sat up. I went to the window and saw my father walking out to his truck. He threw a flour sack into the bed and drove off, leaving twin rails of blue in the morning snow.

Alice had called to me and said breakfast was ready. As I went downstairs I could smell sweet rolls and bacon. "Your father's gone to Ogden to talk to some people," she said. "He'll be back later on this afternoon. Did you wash up?"

I lied and told her I had. She was very sweet and pretty in a plain way.

I don't remember missing my mother at that point except in the most basic way. Alice was kind, her hands soft. She became horrible when the others moved in and when the houses started arriving.

When I sat down, she pushed my chair right up to the table and set a plate of bacon, fried eggs, and sticky cinnamon rolls in front of me. "Do you want some juice?" she asked. I nodded, and she got me a tall glass instead of a short one. When I asked if my father had been angry at her last night, she leaned over the sink and burst into tears.

Even then, I knew enough to leave it alone. They were married in secret a week later, and Amy was born before spring. It happened like that with the rest of them, except Aunt Jackie. She was a friend of Aunt Colleen's. They all say Aunt Jackie just wanted the baby and someone to take care of it, so she could run off and have it both ways. Father didn't seem to care. She was prettier than Alice, and she brought in the money my father couldn't.

Once Aunt Jackie got pregnant with Jared, everything soured. I don't know why; it just crumbled all at once. Even though the main house was full of kids, the rooms became silent. Father sat up late in the kitchen with his index finger in the scriptures, his head bowed forward and nested in the palm of his hand. I would sneak down and find him alone with the lights off. I could hear him praying faintly to himself, asking the Lord to bless my mother and keep her safe and blind to the goings-on in this house. What Alice had told me about my mother was lies. My father kept them all in the dark. He must have thought he could fill up the void with children, but I think it killed him to sit there in the kitchen all night, knowing who he was and what he had done.

*

From the barn I could see the main house surrounded by dirt and sky. I wondered how long it would be before my father started stinking. Maybe they really believed he was caught up in prayer, that he would wake and pontificate from the kitchen floor, casting down the corrupt church of Salt Lake, shouting of rebirth in the old ways of Solomon. But it was over and they knew it. They knew I could not lead the pack. That's what they would have said, but I knew it was me they wanted to be rid of. With mother's husband gone, her son would have to go as well—that's how twisted the logic became, or rather, how the twists of logic became clear to me as I grew older and hurt broke down into granules and blew away. I turned and threw my arms over the gate at the front of the barn, promising myself I would never set foot in that house again.

At least that's what I tell myself now. My bravery is something I concocted somewhere along the line. My memories are much the same, and I am thankful. Without the haze that covers most of those years in polygamy,

I doubt even now that I would hold together. My father dragged us all into his temple and then pulled it down on himself. I pity him now, but I was furious then. Spurned. Betrayed. I tried to lash out. Fuming, I got up and took a half-empty bushel basket and went through the back toward my father's orchard, the only thing he seemed to take any pride in once my mother had left and the other women came.

The orchard spread across a small rise to the east of the main house. It was not very big, but the trees were old—older than the house, he'd said. Once he had grafted new starts into the old trees. Hybridizing, he'd called it. He was trying to make a new variety, a pale delicate apple. He'd joked and said he wanted to call them Adam's Apples, thought that was hilarious. But the whiteness never came; they had been custard yellow and small, mealy and bland. Worse than crabapples. Eventually he gave up on them and said he'd just burn the whole thing down and start over. I told him not to. I said it was just like in that dream of the vineyard from the scriptures. It killed him when I said that. He'd just folded up and said, "Let them go, then. I wash my hands of it. They're yours."

When I got to the orchard, I set the basket down and started right up the closest tree, shaking it until all the loose apples thumped onto the thin grass. I moved through the dozen or so trees one by one until the ground was littered with my father's horrid apples. Then I took the bushel basket, filled it, and hauled it down to the stock pond where I chose an apple, tossing it in my hand like it was a baseball, finding its best heft. I split my fingers the way I had been shown and drew back. The apple flew a third of the way toward the middle and plunked into the water, disappearing into its rings briefly before it popped back up. I threw another and another, each one flying farther and farther.

I kept throwing until the basket was empty and my shoulder ached, then I sat down and whistled to the cows who were poking their heads over the rise. When they came lumbering down to the water, I rose and brushed myself off. Without pausing, I went back to the first of the orchard trees and climbed into the lower branches again and shook, moving from tree to tree, until a dozen or so apples clopped to the ground. I carried them back down. The cows were eating some of the apples that had floated to the other side, and they looked up when I began to pitch the apples again. I didn't know whether fruit like that would kill cows that old, and I didn't care. They were his apples, his cows. He deserved it.

I walked around the stock pond and up the rise, weaving through my father's cattle, then stopped and looked back at the main house. Aunt Colleen and Aunt Alice had come outside and were setting suitcases in the back of the van, then they climbed in and drove off toward town. The kids were packed inside, pressing their faces on the glass. I watched them disappear and the dust settle behind them. The house stood still and naked like it had been pasted there. The sky behind it was clear—blue, hollow,

noiseless. Rising behind the roof, the sandy-gray foothills of the Wasatch Range, the tops of the mountains, faded in and out of a haze. I pushed my way through the cows and followed the backside of the rise to a cluster of cottonwoods and knelt in prayer the way Joseph had. I figured if God spoke to anyone, it was to little kids.

I asked if my father was dead or if he was praying like they said. No answer. I tried again. Still no answer. I fought hard against opening my eyes. I thought if I peeked, God wouldn't answer me, so I waited. The cows were lowing, and the wind shook the aspens. Some birds flew from branch to branch, and way off in the distance there was the sonic boom of a fighter jet. I prayed again, told God I wasn't mad, I just wanted to know what to do. I guess I was waiting for figures to appear, for the voice to be words, but nothing like that happened. I'd never heard anyone say that figures had actually come to them, but I knew God answered prayers. I knew that figures had come in the past. But I also figured that I'd know the answer in my body, the way you know which direction to lean when you're running or the way your hand moves to catch a ball. If God didn't answer prayers, I thought, then the world was a lie, but that couldn't be true because I was kneeling on it. I could smell it and hear it; my body knew it.

If it was true, if my father was dead, I would go. That's the promise I made to myself. When I did, the world became suddenly silent: no jets or birds or leaves or cows. I couldn't even hear my own heartbeat or breathing. I started to sway like a willow branch. God stilled the universe and left me in motion at the center of it. Even though there were no words in my head, I knew that the women had been lying. Early that morning, my father had passed over to the other side.

I said "amen" and stood. When I opened my eyes, the world was in chaos. Clouds swelled in the distance above the roof of the main house, and when I walked back to the top of the rise, I saw that the cows had gathered themselves together on the barn side of the stock pond a hundred yards from where they were when I first knelt. I looked across the pond at the house, and Aunt Alice was standing outside in the driveway, staring toward the county road as if she expected someone. In the distance I heard a vague siren. Alice turned her head. I knew then why Colleen and Deirdre had gone and taken the children with them.

Soon an ambulance pulled up to the house. The paramedics got out and followed Alice inside. After a minute, one of the men came out and went to the back of the ambulance. He pulled out a stretcher and took it inside. The clouds swelled. I sat on the rise and watched the cattle grazing in the pasture where my mother used to run her sheep. Even then I could barely remember.

After a while, the paramedics came out with my father on the stretcher and Alice following. Once they had him in the ambulance, one of the dri-

vers touched Alice briefly on the shoulder. As he did, the sheriff's car pulled up. I got down on my belly so they wouldn't see me. They all stood together and spoke for a time. Alice's arms were folded. The sheriff and the paramedics stood together, closer to their cars than to Alice. When they left, she went back into the house. I watched them drive away, and once they were gone, I watched the dust settle behind them.

*

That night Alice and I were alone in the main house for the first time since the other women had come. It was strange, more so than the morning after I'd first heard her and my father having sex. I remember that breakfast the next morning was no big production: some toast, cider, a handful of raisins. The sky was gray, featureless, infinitely neutral. By mid-morning we were at the morgue and some man from the funeral home came, put my father in a heavy rubber body bag, and took him away. The fat sound of the zipper as it closed over his face seemed like the closing of the veil between earth and the other side.

I'm sure I didn't think of it that way then, but I remember the finality of the sound. Fateful. Maybe it even gave me a first sense of what life is about. In a strange way, and for reasons I do not fully understand, I do not consider myself an orphan. Had things gone differently, Alice might have become a parent to me, but the day after the funeral, she sent me to my room to pack a suitcase.

While I was emptying my drawers, I heard her telephone my grandparents. She explained that my father had passed and the house would be sold. I could not hear the rest, but I knew what was coming and didn't care. An hour later we were driving to the house in which my mother had spent her childhood. She had spoken of it as a kind of heaven. I had only vague memories of it then. My grandparents were waiting on the porch. I climbed out with a comic book under my arm, and Alice came around with my suitcase. We walked up together. Nobody spoke. I stood there on the porch, pretending to stare at my shoes. Alice handed my grandmother a folded handkerchief and then said she was sorry. My grandfather nodded. I turned and watched her get into the van and drive away. As I was watching the empty space in the road, I heard my grandmother say, "It's Francie's ring, Herb. It's the wedding ring."

That day began a silence I felt grafted into. My grandparents spoke very little in general, and we said nothing of the past except to comment on changes in the weather, how it seemed to be getting warmer and maybe those scientists on TV knew something they weren't telling. At first, I thought this was cruel of them, that they somehow hated me for having lived in a perversion. I was furious that my grandparents would not ex-

plain or attack, would not even mention my parents. I wanted explanations, but was far too angry to have listened to anyone's accounting. I have since learned that I misunderstood my grandparents. They loved me from a careful distance. There is not often, I hope, the need for such strange love, but I have come to understand that for some there is a certain charity in silence. It chafes at first and chokes but then relaxes its hold to spool out mercifully into the past.

Making the Mormon Trek Come Alive

We'll Find the Place: The Mormon Exodus, 1846-1848. By Richard E. Bennett (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1997)

Reviewed by Craig L. Foster, Research Specialist at the Family History Library in Salt Lake City who has published in *Dialogue*, the *Journal of Mormon History*, and *BYU Studies*.

AUTHOR RICHARD E. BENNET DESCRIBES HIS BOOK AS:

> . . . not so much a study of the train or of the trek, but of a religious exodus of one of the 19th century's most persecuted and despised groups of religionists—the Latter-day Saints—who were bound neither for Oregon nor for California but either for survival or extinction. This was not just another march westward "across the wide Missouri" in fulfillment of America's Manifest Destiny; rather, it was a destiny in motion yet to be manifest, for it was not at all certain that this enterprise of Joseph Smith, Jr.—The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints—would ever survive to live a new day. The story of the Mormon exodus is that of a religion in torment, desperately seeking to save itself from persecution, to rid itself of its own detractors and obstructionists, and to find itself in some unknown valley, "far away in the west." It was Mormonism in the raw and on the move—forging a new identity while seeking a safe refuge in the tops of "the everlasting hills" (xiv).

Bennett has combed an exhaustive number of primary sources for descriptive and often poignant quotations from those who traveled the trail. With these nuggets of wisdom, hope, frustration, fear, even a little pettiness here and there, Bennett ably humanizes people who are often lost in Sunday school glorification and conveys the hope, pain, and uncertainty of an exodus of biblical proportions.

In addition Bennett has benefitted from numerous secondary sources that enable him to move beyond narrative to scholarly contextualizing and analysis, which add to the reader's understanding of this pivotal period in LDS history. He provides new insight into James J. Strang's role as Brigham Young's rival, into the Quorum of the Twelve's claim to authority, and concerning the great uncertainty of the move west. He portrays Strang and his rival religious movement as a threat to Young and Young's associates which "showed initial, surprising strength and worrisome appeal" to a church which "lay strewn and uprooted across the plains" (361). Strang offered something the LDS church would lack until after the trek to the Great Basin—a "prophet leader." To followers of the martyred Joseph Smith uncomfortable with Young's leadership and wavering and fearful of the unknown, Strang, with his claim to a prophetic calling, seemed an attractive successor .

Bennett also gives a compelling account of the uncertainty which the Saints faced in their quest for a new home. Indeed, the advance company's

trek was based upon faith and a hope for temporal as well as spiritual salvation. The venture could lead to success and glory or to failure and destruction of the LDS Church. The great Mormon exodus was a work in progress with both forward and backward steps. Ultimately, it achieved perhaps even greater success than Young and the original pioneer party foresaw. Between 1849 and the arrival of the railroad in 1869, approximately 60,000 people crossed the plains to establish a new home in the tops of the mountains—unarguably a triumph in migration unequaled in American history.

Mixing strong faith and good scholarship, Richard Bennett has created a work that leaves the reader with a greater understanding of and appreciation for the trek across the plains and settlement in the Great Basin. Among avid Civil War buffs, the question is often asked, "Do you hear the guns?" This is a way of expressing their love of this history and their enthusiasm for its powerful evocation. Perhaps one could ask those who study the Mormon Trail, "Do you hear the wagon wheels?" Until recently, I had not. But after traveling part of the trail in 1997 and then reading Bennett's excellent book, I have almost begun to hear them creak.

A Welcome Arrival, A Promising Standard

The Pioneer Camp of the Saints: The 1846 and 1847 Mormon Trail Journals of Thomas Bullock. Edited by Will Bagley (Spokane, Washington: Arthur H. Clark, 1997), 393 pp. Volume 1 in the series: "Kingdom in the West: The Mormons and the American Frontier."

Reviewed by Richard E. Bennett, Professor of Church History and Doctrine at Brigham Young University.

THE 150TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS of the exodus from Nauvoo, Illinois, to the Rocky Mountains saw the publication of several significant new works in Mormon history. Surely one of the most significant contributions of these is Will Bagley's edition of the Thomas Bullock journals of 1846 and 1847. Bagley and his publishing team are to be commended for bringing this vital and illuminating original document into public view. Whatever criticisms follow pale in importance to the fact that Bagley has produced this valuable book. The English-born Bullock himself mars his record with small-minded complaints and petty criticism of the men around him, and his officially appointed record does not quite compare to the writings of contemporary diarists William Clayton, Orson Pratt, or Wilford Woodruff. Still, Bullock's account is a unique and wonderful addition to the literature of the Mormon trek.

The administration of the Church Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is also to be commended for the support and encouragement given this project. The publication of this original document may evidence a changing attitude, a refreshing recommitment to bringing to light important sources long neglected or forgotten in church archives. One can only hope that we will not have to wait for other anniversary celebrations to see more such publications.

The Pioneer Camp of the Saints has much to recommend it. Handsome and easily readable, the book features many photographs, detailed tables, and lists of rosters and mileage charts. Bagley's helpful introduction and life sketch of Bullock cover almost 25 pages, and each chapter or sub-section of the diaries is preceded by its own historical overview and explanation. An excellent index and a detailed appendix identifying many names appearing in the journal complete the volume.

Bagley's editing of the Bullock journal is professional. Scores of names, places, and events encountered along the way are described and detailed helpfully in footnotes, but footnotes are reasonable in number and size and do not overwhelm the text. Not since Juanita Brooks's study on Hosea Stout (*On the Mormon Frontier: The Diaries of Hosea Stout* [University of Utah Press, 1964]) has there appeared a better-edited Mormon journal.

More importantly, Bagley has been *faithful* to the original record, complete with intended—but stroked out—words and phrases and original grammar and spelling. There are no nagging ellipses, emendations, or revisions. In short, it is printed here and now as it was written there and then. And Bagley has gone one step further by incorporating helpful excerpts from Bullock's later letters and writings, especially those that appeared in the *Millennial Star* of 1848 in which he discussed the recent journey. He also integrates into the text key minutes of council meetings held along the trail, documents that Bullock wrote in his own hand as recorder to the Council of the Twelve. To the extent these records are included—and one is chagrined that more have not survived—Bullock's diary is as much the official record of the exodus as it is a personal account.

The work is not, however, without errors or weaknesses. These appear particularly in certain of the editor's historical and doctrinal explanations. If, for instance, the treatment of Samuel Brannan's life and intentions is sound and thorough, the same cannot be said with regard to James Emmett and George Miller. These men were not acting under Brigham Young's wishes when they settled in the Pawnee Village on the Niobrara in 1846/47. Instead, they were following their own course of borderline rebellion, one that soon took them out of the church. Bagley's inclusion of Bullock's Poor Camp journals of 1846 is commendable, but fails to incorporate recent scholarship (See esp. *The Iowa Mormon Trail: Legacy of Faith and Courage* [Orem, Utah: Helix Publishers, 1997]). Bagley's thoroughness in describing people and places is sadly lacking when it comes to clarifying the theology of the exodus. Missing are explanations for Brigham Young's May 26 sermon in Scottsbluff, the purpose of prayer circles, the Law of Adoption, the meaning of rebaptisms upon reaching Salt Lake Valley, and of other doctrines and practices peculiar to the trek. Bullock understood these things implicitly, but the editor needs to help the reader. Bagley minimizes or perhaps misunderstands the differences between Young and Pratt in their trail confrontation of August 1847. It wasn't "a possible rival for leadership of the church," but differing views on the role of the Twelve that was at issue (268). For such a complete journal with so many footnotes on rivers, ridges, and terrain, why only a single map on the last 100 miles of the trek? And way are some of the finest contemporary journals—by Horace K. Whitney, Erastus Snow, A. P. Rockwood, and Appleton Harmon—so little referenced or noted. Bullock was not alone, and a discussion, however short, of the other

journalists of the exodus would have strengthened this work.

These are, however, quibbles and should not distract or dissuade the scholar, student, or history buff from reading and relishing this work. One can only hope that the remaining offerings in this series of original documents will measure up to the standard set here by Bagley.

Plural Marriage, Singular Lives

In Sacred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith. By Todd Compton (Salt Lake City, Utah: Signature Books, 1997), 824 pp.

Reviewed by Lawrence Foster, Professor of American History, Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta, Georgia.

JOSEPH SMITH'S POLYGAMOUS RELATIONSHIPS have been a topic of great interest and controversy among Mormons and non-Mormons alike. The reactions of the women whom Joseph Smith took as plural wives and the way in which their relationships with the Mormon prophet were part of their own larger life experiences, however, have seldom been studied systematically. Most writers have contented themselves with making head counts of Smith's alleged plural wives. The Mormon church historian Andrew Jenson listed twenty-seven probable plural wives, Fawn Brodie identified forty-eight, and more recent Mormon historians such as Danel Bachman, D. Michael Quinn, and George D. Smith have identified thirty-one, forty-six, and forty-three plural wives, respectively. These lists often do not adequately distinguish between different types of plural wives, particularly between those who probably sustained full connubial relations with Joseph Smith and those who were only posthumously sealed to him "for eternity."

Todd Compton's massive and path-breaking, 788-page study *In Sacred Loneliness* provides the most comprehensive assessment yet available of the lives of thirty-three women whom he considers "well-documented wives of Joseph Smith" (1). Compton begins with a twenty-three page introduction that discusses some of the complex issues that must be addressed if Joseph Smith's plural marriages are to be understood, and then he briefly summarizes the evidence on each of the wives in chart form. The 596-page core of the book consists of thirty well-written and thoroughly documented chapters that sympathetically reconstruct, using detailed quotations from a wide range of primary sources, the lives of the thirty-three women he has identified as plural wives. These include two sets of sisters and one mother-daughter pair whose stories are combined in three of the chapters. Instead of in-text source citations, 148 pages of bibliographic and chapter references are provided. A fifteen page index concludes the study.

Although scholars may take issue with some of Compton's assumptions and arguments, his study is a major step forward in understanding early Mormon plural marriage. First and most impressively, Compton is concerned about treating each of the women whom he studies as a real person in her own right and reconstructing the entire life stories from birth to death of these often quite remarkable women, many of whom be-

came among the most respected and influential female leaders in pioneer Utah. For many of these women, their relationship with Joseph Smith was only a brief interlude in a much larger and more complex life; for others, the issues of their polygamous relationships with Joseph Smith and, subsequently, with other Mormon leaders such as Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball were a focus of recurrent concern and tension. Compton masterfully reconstructs the often poignant stories of these women without reducing them to stereotypical heroines or victims, as so many earlier accounts have done.

Equally if not more important, Compton has provided in this study the massive primary documentation from widely scattered sources that will allow both scholars and the general public alike to form their *own* opinions about just what was going on in Joseph Smith's polygamous relationships and how those relationships affected the women who participated in them. As a non-Mormon scholar, I had the exceptional opportunity of spending more than four months reading primary diaries, journals, records, and affidavits held in the Church Archives in Salt Lake City while working on a study of the early development of Mormon polygamy that eventually would be published as *Religion and Sexuality*. Only someone who has worked closely with these documents can comprehend Compton's full achievement in identifying and providing detailed quotations (with exact original spelling and punctuation) from virtually all of the most relevant portions of this substantial corpus of primary materials relating to Joseph Smith's polygamous relationships and the larger life experiences of these women.

Finally, Compton is to be commended for candidly trying to come to terms with some of the most knotty and controversial aspects of early Mormon polygamy, including the evidence that Joseph Smith took as plural wives in a full physical sense women who were already married to other men. Compton argues, for example, that "fully one-third of his [Joseph Smith's] plural wives, eleven of them, were married civilly to other men when he married them. . . . Polyandry might be easier to understand if one viewed these marriages to Smith as a sort of *de facto* divorce with the first husband. However, none of these women divorced their 'first husbands' while Smith was alive and all of them continued to live with their civil spouses while married to Smith" (15-16). Compton further points out that "there is evidence that he did have [sexual] relations with at least some of these women, including one polyandrous wife, Sylvia Sessions Lyon, who bore the only polygamous offspring of Smith for whom we have affidavit evidence" (21).

While Compton deserves much credit for tackling squarely and sensitively the thorny issue of these unusual relationships with Joseph Smith, I am extremely dubious about his characterization of them as "polyandrous." As I have pointed out in *Religion and Sexuality*, 159-166, and in "Sex and Prophetic Power" (*Dialogue* 31, no. 4, Winter 1998), I see no evidence that the behavior in which Joseph Smith apparently engaged was viewed, either by the Mormon prophet himself or by his close followers who knew about it, as a form of "polyandry." Rather, it seems far more likely, given the intensely patriarchal emphasis in early Mormon plural marriage, that such relationships were interpreted as a complex millenarian version of patriarchal levirate polygamy. Even this interpretation, which cannot be detailed here, may not be sufficient to ex-

plain all instances of this kind, however. For example, the most tangled such relationship, that of Zina Diantha Huntington, skillfully analyzed in pages 71-113 of *In Sacred Loneliness*, suggests the possibility that the demand for total loyalty to the leadership of the prophet and to his will may ultimately be the only way in which some of these relationships can be understood.

Another reservation that I have about this study is Compton's tendency to state as matters of fact what are, at best, only his own suppositions. This is most apparent in the first paragraph of his chapter on Fanny Alger, the first of the thirty core chapters on Joseph Smith's plural wives. Compton asserts, without initial qualification in the chapter, that she "was one of Joseph Smith's earliest plural wives" (25). This is only Compton's debatable supposition, not an established fact. While contemporary evidence strongly suggests that Smith sustained sexual relations with Fanny Alger, it does not indicate that this was viewed either by Smith himself or by his associates at the time as a "marriage." The most substantial contemporary description of the relationship comes from a letter written by Oliver Cowdery on January 21, 1838, in which he declares that "in every instance I did not fail to affirm that what I said was strictly true. A dirty, nasty, filthy affair of his and Fanny Alger's was talked over in which I strictly declared that I never deviated from the truth" (38).

There is strong evidence from later sources that Joseph Smith may have considered, at least as early as July 1831, the possibility of reintroducing a form of patriarchal Old Testament polygamy. There is no reliable contemporary evidence, however, that any of the sexual relationships that Joseph Smith may have sustained with women other than his first wife Emma prior to the first formally documented plural marriage ceremony with Louisa Beaman in Nauvoo, Illinois, on April 5, 1841, was necessarily viewed at the time as a "marriage." Such earlier sexual relationships *may* have been considered marriages, but we lack convincing contemporary evidence supporting such an interpretation. Later Mormon writers simply have assumed that if there was a sexual relationship involving Joseph Smith, then it must have involved a "marriage." For this debate as it applies to Compton's interpretation of Fanny Alger, which first appeared in an article in the *Journal of Mormon History* 23 (Spring 1996): 174-207, see Janet Ellington's letter in the *Journal of Mormon History* 23 (Spring 1997): vi–vii, and Compton's response in the *Journal of Mormon History* 23 (Fall 1997): xvii–xix.

From a larger perspective, this and other scholarly reservations that one might have about *In Sacred Loneliness* are far less significant than the remarkable achievement of this study. Just as the superb biography *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith* by Linda K. Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery for the first time presented a full, sympathetic, and well-rounded scholarly analysis of the life of Joseph Smith's dynamic but much misunderstood first wife, *In Sacred Loneliness* provides a thorough, sympathetic, and well-rounded scholarly analysis of thirty-three other women who also sustained important relationships with the Mormon prophet. Anyone seeking to grapple with the complex issues of how Mormon plural marriage originated and what it meant to some of the most articulate Mormon women who participated in the practice will find this study an invaluable starting point.

Mission Complexities in Asia

From the East: The History of the Latter-Day Saints in Asia, 1851-1996. By R. Lanier Britsch (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1998), 631 pp.

Reviewed by Glen M. Cooper, associate editor, Islamic Translation Series, and research associate, Center for the Preservation of Ancient Religious Texts, Brigham Young University.

As a missionary in Taiwan many years ago, I often reflected on the historical significance of our work. President Hyer humbly reminded us that we were only the most recent phase of an historical process which began centuries ago with the efforts of the first Christian missionaries to Asia. As we reaped what they had sown, we helped to fulfill the selfless labors of all Christian missionaries who had gone before us. I wondered if someone would ever attempt to write the history of the LDS missionary involvement with Asia. The task would be huge, given the geographical vastness and ethnic diversity of the region. R. Lanier Britsch, a professor of Asian history at Brigham Young University, has made an admirable attempt to write such a history.

The title *From the East* refers to the prophecy in Matthew 8:11 that many from both the east and west would eventually be numbered among the children of Abraham. The melding of Asian tradition with the message of the restoration is reflected artistically on the book's jacket, which features a gold-embossed pattern in a curiously Asian design with a trumpet-blowing angel Moroni placed at the center. At a hefty 631 pages, the book is packed with useful and well-documented details. It provides many helpful features for the reader interested in the complex history of LDS missions in Asia, including maps, extensive bibliographies, and a schematic timeline showing how the many current missions evolved from the earliest entities. The bibliographies deserve particular praise since they indicate the diverse types of sources necessary to make a work of this scope as thorough as possible. Cited sources include booklets, pamphlets, and a wealth of unpublished sources such as manuscript collections, letters, journals, oral histories and interviews, and personal correspondence.

The first attempt to cover LDS involvement in Asia comprehensively and the product of nearly three decades of thought and writing, *From the East* succeeds rather well as a whole, though with a few shortcomings. LDS missionary work in Asia began during the 1850s with abortive early missions to India, Burma, Siam (Thailand), and China. Serious, sustained missionary efforts began in Japan in the period after 1901. Britsch describes the discouraging results of the nineteenth-century missions and suggests factors to account for their failures. He then, through several chapters, traces how missionary work in other parts of Asia grew out of the foundation established in Japan in the twentieth century. His account continues through 1996, covering the following geographical areas: Japan, Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Philippines, Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam, Singapore and Malaysia, Indonesia, India, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, and Mongolia. Many of these regions receive less than a chapter of attention, since missionary work there is of more recent date. Japan receives five chapters, the Chinese "realm" (Hong Kong, Taiwan, and the

People's Republic of China) three chapters altogether, and Korea and the Philippines two chapters each.

One may wonder why such disproportionate emphasis on Japan. Britsch explains that in the wake of a gargantuan Chinese civil war in the second half of the nineteenth century and the failure of the India mission, Japan seemed the most promising area for the church to gain a foothold in Asia because it seemed most open to Western influence. It is curious, however, that to an LDS author of the time, Japan's success in a war against China in 1894-95 was proof of its "strides . . . in the arts of civilization."[1] This author apparently considered war to be among the civilized arts. Or perhaps he thought that Japan's adopting Western technology, joining the race for colonies, and oppressing less-developed peoples for gain indicated that it deserved a place among the established civilizations.

The great achievement of *From the East* is to provide a unified historical context for missionary activity in East and South Asia as a whole. The comprehensive scope of the book, however, is both a strength and a weakness, for some areas are not explored to a satisfying depth. The preface shows that the author has thought carefully about the inherent problems as well as some of the potential criticisms of this project. (He apologizes for giving Taiwan a particularly deficient treatment [xiii]). It is to be hoped that more specialized histories of LDS involvement in each country in Asia will one day be written.

A principal strength of the book, which compensates for other limitations, is the author's extensive use of a wide range of primary sources. Britsch also draws upon first-hand anecdotes, refers to his mission to Hawaii (568), includes a photograph of himself introducing a BYU performing group to Indira Gandhi, and shows a deep cultural sensitivity and respect for Asian cultures. Such personal details greatly improve the credibility of the book. His style is easy, making the book a pleasant read, though sometimes too informal for a work of scholarship. (In his recent *Nothing More Heroic: The Compelling Story of the First Latter-day Saint Missionaries in India* [Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Co., 1999], Britsch chose to write not from the third-person perspective of the historian, but from the imagined perspective of one of the missionaries.)

Britsch makes an important critical observation regarding LDS missionary methodology, which I affirm from my own experience. The unified system for teaching the gospel, useful elsewhere, is mostly ineffective in Asia (he calls it a "help and a hindrance" [5]). I recall memorizing the discussions in Chinese with meticulous accuracy in the MTC, only to discard or modify major portions of them to suit the particular cultural needs of Chinese in Taiwan. Simply translating one "universal template" directly into another language ignores the particulars of a specific culture. Britsch refers to a missionary lesson plan designed by H. Grant Heaton specifically for the Chinese people (239), but does not explain why it was never adopted.

A vivid example is provided to portray the difficulties involved in direct translation of expressions and concepts between very different cultures. The wife of a mission president taught LDS

1. "A Future Mission Field," *The Contributor*, October 1895, 764-65; qtd. from 44. Britsch does not give the author's name.

Korean husbands that they should tell their wives at least weekly that they love them, a very unusual thing for a Korean man to do. One brother heard this advice six times before resolving to follow it. He determined a specific day when he would tell his wife that he loved her, but when the opportunity came, all he could say was "When I look at you, you remind me of spring" (195). Such culturally revealing anecdotes are liberally distributed throughout the book.

The Introduction contains a thoughtful discussion of the philosophical underpinnings of the concept of conversion, especially in relation to LDS missionary efforts. Some Christian groups consider that "conversion" presupposes arrogance on the part of the missionary, assuming that his viewpoint is superior. But I ask: what kind of Christian does not feel that his life is better with his faith and does not desire to proclaim and share that message? Britsch treats this issue sensitively.

There are significant weaknesses marring the book, however, of three general types. First, the book suffers throughout from poor proofreading and editing.[2] Second, and more seriously, there is a confusion about audience. Does Britsch intend to address insiders (i.e., LDS church members) or outsiders? At times he refers to "our" this and "our" that in a manner to suggest an inclusive "we," for example, in phrases such as "our beloved prophet" (566) and "our missionaries" (543). Many other passages, however, in which he explains rudimentary doctrines and practices of the church in a very basic way in the third person, clearly are intended for a non-Mormon audience. This apparent schizophrenia is unsettling to a reader.[3]

Finally, and most seriously, Britsch brushes over the pre-LDS history of Asian nations in a manner which may give the sense that events in this period, especially early Christian missionary efforts, do not matter. This viewpoint is typically LDS, it seems to me: at best to treat lightly, at worst to ignore pre-Restoration Christianity. In reality, the efforts of the early Catholic missionaries as well as those of subsequent proselytizers were Christian seeds that eventually yielded LDS fruit. Britsch offers an unconvincing disclaimer regarding the pre-LDS period in the preface, but these matters simply require more attention. He does acknowledge that the governments of several Asian countries pro-

2. Listing such shortcomings is distasteful, even tiresome, but necessary. The following examples reflect the type of ambiguities, errors of detail, and typographical indiscretions which occur ubiquitously. On 73, does the phrase "Indians of Hawaii" refer to people of South Asian origin or to the native Hawaiian "Lamanites"? On 413, August 1997 is referred to as "this date," which is inconsistent both with other references to the present (1996) and with the fact that the book identifies its account as ending in 1996. On 452, *singa pur*, "City of the Lion," is said to be the Sanskrit term from which the name of the modern nation Singapore is derived. The Sanskrit would be *simhapuri*; the form used derives from a descendant language. On 478, "populous" is a misprint for "populace." On 555, Nepal is mentioned when clearly Sri Lanka is meant. In the discussion of Indonesia, no mention is made of the Arabic elements in the translated title of the church or of the Book of Mormon (484-85)—an inconsistency, since Britsch refers to such particulars of language when writing about other nations.

3. This confusion regarding audience is evident in other ways, such as when Britsch describes an event as occurring "in an almost remarkable way" (503) or writes, "The founding of the church in Bangalore is instructive" (537). Remarkable (or not) for whom? Instructive for whom or for what purpose?

hibit proselytizing among non-Christians. Particularly in those nations, then, LDS missionary efforts owe a very great deal to the work of the Christian missionaries who preceded them, selflessly devoted to the cause of Christ. Even a page or two discussing earlier Christianity in Asia would significantly improve the book.[4]

Eventually, I hope to see an LDS historical treatment of each country which fully acknowledges other religious efforts as well as shows the classic LDS paradigm that the restored gospel is, or ought to be, the fulfillment of all to which their own traditions aspire. Belief in the restoration may entail the belief that the gospel dropped out of the sky (literally), but it is still a part of historical processes that a responsible and honest treatment ignores to its peril. This is especially the case when writing of non-western cultures, for which familiar western historical traditions cannot be assumed.[5]

Notwithstanding these serious criticisms, I emphasize that the positive contribution of this book is much greater than its defects, which largely could be rectified by short revisions and more responsible editing in a second edition. *From the East* represents a much needed historical treatment. It vividly depicts the church's evolving understanding of and concern for Asia, as reflected in its greater specialization of missions over time and its gradual shift from viewing Asia as one undifferentiated Oriental mass to conceiving of it as a complex region of widely-varied countries and peoples, some rarely in the news. It is my hope that eventually someone will write a history of the church's dealings in the Middle East, Central Asia, and Africa that is as well-done as this one. An ambitious historical work, with or without revisions, this book is likely to remain useful for a long time.

4. For an example of the cursory treatment of the pre-LDS period, see 171, where Britsch refers to a book written by a Jesuit missionary to Korea in 1631 but fails to note the title of the book, the name of the author, or the circumstances of the mission. Such an important detail ought to be included as a matter of course.

5. An adequate discussion of such historical and cultural processes requires greater detail and attention to nuance than is sometimes the case in the present book. For example, Britsch states categorically that it is easier to convert an English-speaking Christian to the LDS faith than a Chinese-speaking Buddhist or Taoist, but does not explain why (325). My Chinese mission experience was much the opposite, however. Britsch also often treats relations between Islam and Christianity in a cursory or misleading manner. On pages 493-94, for example, in discussion of Muslim complaints against Christian missionary efforts, he makes no mention of the fact that Islam, like the LDS faith, believes itself to be the one true religion. In a later account of Christians converted from Islam, Britsch mentions the *shari'a* laws for offenses against Islam but does not explain that the term *shari'a* refers to Islamic religious law in its entirety. The *shari'a* covers and regulates every aspect of Muslim believers' lives, not unlike the LDS gospel. Without these necessary explanations, such accounts are confusing, and, at times suffer from the sort of sensationalism too common in Western representations of Islam. Moreover, the clichéd claim that the West is "the home of the concept of religious toleration and religious freedom" (508) fails to acknowledge scholarly arguments that the origins of religious tolerance lie in medieval Islam, if not earlier. Nearly any history of Islam describes this; see, for example, Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), I: 242-43.

Building Cultural Bridges

Asian American Mormons: Bridging Cultures. By Jessie L. Embry (Provo, Utah: Charles Redd Center, 1999)

"In His Own Language": Mormon Spanish Speaking Congregations in the United States. By Jessie L. Embry (Provo, Utah: Charles Redd Center, 1997)

Reviewed by Paul Guajardo, Assistant Professor of English, University of Houston.

AS A MISSIONARY IN DENVER, I served in a Spanish-speaking branch—a rewarding and sometimes frustrating experience. Because of the limited size of the congregation, I wondered about the segregation and whether the Spanish-speaking members might be better served in a regular or geographic ward. Years later, to my surprise, I was called to work in a Black branch in Houston where there is essentially no language barrier. After a year and a half, I again developed a few questions about the advantages or disadvantages of these branches. Jessie L. Embry's books address all of my questions—questions that are essential to understanding the complexity of a worldwide church trying best to serve a diverse ethnic population. The mission of the church is, of course, to teach the gospel of Jesus Christ devoid of cultural idiosyncrasies, but differences in culture, language, and customs make this less than simple. In Embry's words, "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has struggled with these questions [regarding ethnic wards] and not found an easy solution" (*In His Own Culture*, 4). More than half of the current church membership resides outside the U.S., and as this trend continues, Embry's research will be of even greater value. Within the U.S., Hispanic-Americans will soon be the largest minority group. According to the 1990 census, 17 million Hispanics speak Spanish at home, and within the church there were 354 Spanish-speaking units in 1997.

Embry, director of the Oral History Program and assistant director of the Charles H. Redd Center for Western Studies at Brigham Young University, has distinguished herself as *the* scholar of Latter-day Saint ethnic congregations. In addition to the two books under consideration here, she has also published *Black Saints in a White Church: Contemporary African American Mormons* (Signature Books, 1994). These three books, similar in format, are the result of her considerable work with oral history projects in which she and her staff interviewed Latter-day Saints of Black, Hispanic, Asian, German, American Indian, and Polynesian backgrounds. She also studied oral history materials commissioned by the Church Historical Department in 1972.

The complexities of ethnic wards and branches have not always been understood and "official policies" toward these branches have changed from time to time in what Embry calls "a jerky record of abrupt policy changes" (*In His Own Language*, 13). There are so many advantages and disadvantages to ethnic wards that it is easy to argue either side. One positive aspect is that being taught the gospel in one's primary language is essential, but, as this is not part of the rationale for Black branches, there obviously are other important factors. Not only do many immigrants prefer to hear things in their native language, but this also makes it easier for them to participate. Embry quotes a convert, David Mu: "It is much easier for us to express

our feelings in our language. We can bear our testimonies much easier. We can use Chinese examples" (*Asian American*, p. 93).

Many immigrants often feel more comfortable or "at home" in ethnic branches. The smaller congregations are more conducive to activities and potlucks, and there is more sense of closeness and acceptance than might be felt in a larger geographic ward. In some cases these new members are better able to maintain some of their cultural traditions, such as celebrating Chinese New Year or eating traditional foods. The smaller size of branches also allows more members to serve in church callings. Others feel that ethnic branches better prepare the youth to serve missions back in their parents' former homeland by making them knowledgeable about language and customs.

But the disadvantages to ethnic wards are numerous as well. According to Embry's case studies, the biggest complaint is that sometimes the gospel is not taught adequately, but in a simplified form. Often there is not sufficient leadership, experience, or depth among the membership. All of the auxiliary classes or programs are not always available. There may only be one or two Beehives or Laurels; there may not be a scouting program. Ethnic congregations might not help promote English fluency as quickly. These converts are more segregated from mainstream church members, and there is sometimes a perception of segregation, racism, or inequality. Furthermore, the geographical boundaries of ethnic branches are sometimes larger, entailing more travel for worship or activities. Members of these branches occasionally feel that they are not learning as much about American culture as they should. In other words, the ethnic branch could actually be a barrier to full integration. Moreover, the youth, often perfectly assimilated to America, usually prefer a geographical ward. Other minor difficulties sometimes occur when several distinct groups are lumped together—say a combination of Cambodian, Vietnamese, Laotian, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Malaysian members in a single branch.

From the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s, there was a trend away from ethnic congregations. Spencer W. Kimball "vigorously protested" ending Spanish-speaking missions in the U.S., concerned that "we would lose ground and many of our members and cease to grow as fast as we have done" (*In His Own Language*, 59). Nevertheless, the church later "stopped organizing new ethnic congregations and even disbanded some" (*Asian American*, p. 67). Regular wards could of course hold special classes in other languages to accommodate non-English speakers. But "[b]y 1977, the General Authorities realized that they were not meeting the needs of all ethnic members," and in response ethnic wards increased particularly on Indian reservations (*Asian American*, p. 68).

In reading Embry's scholarly books, one ultimately comes away with a sense of how complicated the issues are. In running a diverse worldwide church, there are many hurdles and few universal solutions. Embry's research would be particularly useful for church leaders who have some jurisdiction over these wards or branches. These studies might be useful to those who belong to these branches, or might amuse intellectuals who love to question changes in church policy, but overall the books seem highly specialized and of limited audience.

Embry herself acknowledges that these studies are a little limited in scope and locale and that "it is impossible to

generalize about a whole group of people based on [limited] examples" (*In His Own Language*, p. 9). Her books would be of greater value had they taken a larger and more diverse sampling; nevertheless, there are many similarities between the various groups studied. Of course Embry was limited in time, funds, and staff, yet her research would be more conclusive had more ethnic branches throughout the U.S. been studied and had a greater effort been made to interview inactive members. We might have more to learn about ethnic wards by interviewing members who have quit than from interviewing those who are still active. To be fair, rather than viewing these limitations as a weakness, we can use her books as a starting point for wider research. *Asian American Mormons* presents 108 case studies, of which 82 subjects lived in Utah, 38 were college students, and all were active members of the church. Of the 108, 23 were from Japan, with an average of about 10 each from Hong Kong, Taiwan, Vietnam, Korea, Laos, Thailand, China, and Cambodia. It is difficult to draw meaningful conclusions from the observations of ten subjects. We can assume that ethnic congregations outside of Provo, Utah, will have other particularities worth studying. One can only imagine the complexities of ethnically diverse stakes in New York, Miami, Chicago, Los Angeles, and other major cities.

Embry has provided us a great introduction to the intricacies of ethnic congregations in the U.S. Within the limitations she faced, the books are informative and well researched. She provides extensive notes and other bibliographical data for those interested in further reading. She has even studied how other churches have dealt with some of these questions. It is to be hoped that Embry's research will continue and that eventually these important books will be revised and expanded.

Missionaries, Missions, Converts, Cultures

Mormon Passage: A Missionary Chronicle. By Gary Shepherd and Gordon Shepherd (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 504 pp.

Reviewed by David Clark Knowlton, Visiting Professor of Anthropology at the University of Utah.

TO SOCIAL SCIENTISTS, missionaries are a great unknown. Perhaps the most important agents of social change around the globe, they have competed with scholars whose goal is to understand and appreciate people rather than to change them. As a result, outside of the missiology literature, there is a gap in social science. We really have little understanding of missionaries. If you add to this the barriers of fantasy and indifference, those Mormon men and women going uniformed, two by two in almost every city are even more mysterious. Meanwhile the corps of 60,000 plus Mormon missionaries outstrips in raw numbers that of every other denomination.

Into this gap sociologists Gary and Gordon Shepherd have walked. They have published a wonderful book, consisting of carefully edited selections from diaries of their own missionary experiences in different parts of Mexico during the sixties. Both men were invet-

erate diarists. This has required them to pick and choose carefully among their experiences in order to create a text that moves smoothly, yet dramatically between its two narrators. To achieve this, they employ subplots, providing counterpoint between the everyday grind, the joys of proselyting, and relationship challenges with missionary companions. They include letters from friends, particularly from one young man attending Stanford who was struggling with his faith, with the idea of going on a mission, and with his affiliation with the church.

The focus of the book is properly on the missionary and the mission as a "machine" which creates many different kinds of Mormons, not least among them the faithful Mormon male who spends his life fulfilling one calling after another for the church. The pseudonymous friend "Chuck Radlow" is, thus, also important to the narrative because, as he comes close to the mission experience, he suffers a crisis of faith and becomes a different kind of Mormon. This is one of the most intimate and gut wrenching portions of the book.

Since both authors are prominent sociologists of religion and of Mormonism with a long trajectory of serious academic work, they bring rigor and substance to the analytical sections introducing text groupings from each major segment of their missions. These introductions form a meta-commentary on the diaries, deploying these in a work of serious social thought. Perhaps the greatest value of these texts, however, is that—even in this highly edited form—they will offer data for comparative analyses of Mormon missionary life and experience.

For the LDS reader, this book will serve as a kind of Rohrschach test, as BYU sociologist Marie Cornwall observed at Sunstone a few years ago. We will see in these stories what is important in our own relationship to missions. But like good psychological analysis, the Shepherds will also help us to understand how the form and structure of the mission relates to our everyday lives and the mythologies we build. They will give us the analytic distance to see and better understand ourselves in their reflective surface.

Some issues within the book beg further thought and should serve as starting points for future thinkers. In what remains of this review, I'll list several:

First, it would be interesting to reflect on the cultural and literary form of the diary. It carries symbolic weight in Mormon circles as one of the books from which we will be judged. A diary is a "testimony" to one's life, to use a weighty Mormon phrase. As a result, one might expect to write of one's accomplishments and progress toward spiritual and eternal goals. But this view exists in a certain tension with the popular understanding of the diary as a place where one unveils one's innermost self, writes one's most intimate feelings. The place in which these understandings dovetail (or fail to dovetail) may well be the place where Mormonism most deeply gets its teeth into us, where it is most deeply written in our souls. It is not an unproblematic space. We might, for instance, ask how diaries serve as instruments of socialization. How do they, as a disciplined and disciplinary practice, help create certain kinds of persons and certain kinds of religious worlds? How, moreover, do they function in relationships of power?

A second important issue underdeveloped in the book is that of gender. Most missionaries are males. The mission as a male and gendered experience is important. I suspect that the dominant forms of masculinity play an im-

portant role in missionary life and in building a hierarchy of difference and evaluation among missionaries. But this cannot be clearly understood unless gender is brought firmly into the analytical frame. Though many missionaries are women, *Mormon Passage* does not consider their experience at all. Meanwhile, it is certainly not a given that, even in some of its most basic aspects, a woman's experience of a mission is the same as a man's. Moreover, what role does gender play in envisioning relationships between missionaries and converts? So pervasive a determinant in other carefully researched areas undoubtedly plays a role here. But how? These, I think, are critical questions.

This leads to another criticism of this very fine book, though it is less a criticism of the work than of Anglo Mormonism. The book takes place in Mexico, but we get very little understanding of Mexican society and culture through the lens of these journals. Clearly the missionaries love many people and are loved in return. And at one point Gordon does tell of being scolded for blindness and a patronizing attitude toward Mexican missionaries, but because the authors do not tackle such issues in depth, Mexico remains little more than an exotic place in which they spent two years. This relationship between missionaries and converts and missionaries and the cultures in which they serve, a relationship of legitimate caring which nonetheless enables social and cultural blindness, may model a kind of uncomprehending intimacy characteristic of Mormon life in general, love as a relationship of power, discipline, hierarchy. The question is worth looking deeply into.

I see the self-absorption of Anglo Mormon culture as the principal failing of this book and, indeed, as one of the major failings of Mormon studies in general, even if it is explainable in terms of LDS norms and practices. But whatever concerns I've raised about such matters, *Mormon Passage* is an excellent book and a surprisingly good read. It captures the humanity as well as the closure of missionary life, and together, the diaries and letters often have an understated lyrical quality.

Bringing Balance to our Historical Writing

From Mission to Madness: Last Son of the Mormon Prophet. By Valeen Tippetts Avery (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 368 pp.

Reviewed by William D. Russell, Professor of Political Science and History, Graceland University.

DAVID HYRUM SMITH WAS Joseph Smith's last child, born several months after the assassination of his father. He followed his oldest brother, Joseph Smith III, and his mother, Emma, into the RLDS Church and became a member of the First Presidency. Students of Mormon history should welcome Valeen Tippetts Avery's sensitive biography of the son Joseph never knew.

Avery has consulted virtually all of the primary sources available as well as the most relevant secondary sources. She came to this task well prepared by virtue of her earlier work on Emma—

the 1984 biography *Mormon Enigma*, written with Linda King Newell—and her Ph.D. dissertation on David. This reviewer thought readers could detect a slight pro-Mormon bias in *Mormon Enigma*, because it seemed the authors were sometimes kinder to Joseph than the evidence warranted. But I think readers of this biography of David won't be able to tell whether the author is Mormon, or, if so, of what faction of Mormonism. Too often that is not true in Mormon history.

Both works are helpful in shedding light on the lives of the women and children who are in the prophet's family but do not inherit the mantle of leadership. In LDS writings Emma has been largely ignored and not looked upon favorably when noticed. (For example, Milton Backman's major book on Mormonism in Ohio in the 1830's mentions Emma Smith only three times, not particularly favorably.) She did not go west and did not like Brigham, and the feeling was mutual. David has not been very well known to Mormons, either RLDS or LDS. He is largely ignored in LDS history. David is also downplayed in the RLDS history, for during most of the time he was a member of the First Presidency he was resident in what was then called an "insane asylum." As one nineteenth-century reader of the LDS *Deseret News* wrote sarcastically, "insanity and confinement in an asylum for an indefinite time does not disqualify a member of the [RLDS] first presidency from retaining his office" (267). This book thus raises a sensitive issue for RLDS members who, in effect, must admit that God called an insane man to the First Presidency.

This book is also sensitive because of the issue of polygamy. The RLDS Church vehemently denied for more than a century that Joseph Smith was a polygamist. But both this book and *Mormon Enigma* make it clear that he was. Despite this, many RLDS still hold to the traditional RLDS view that Brigham Young instituted this nefarious doctrine in Utah. (My late mother, for example, knew that Joseph was not a polygamist because her father heard it from Joseph III's own lips: "My father was not a polygamist!") The more informed RLDS, however, have accepted reality. I have taught a course on Latter Day Saint history at Graceland for the past five years. When my students read the biography of Emma, which I always assign, most accept Joseph's polygamy without much stress.

Ironically, some LDS historical publications now omit Brigham Young's own polygamy, just as Mormon biographers have tended to leave out his racism and sexism. Even Dennis Lythgoe's article and review of Avery's book in the *Deseret News* (July 11, 1999) reflect the LDS downplaying of our polygamist past. His article contained only a four-word phrase mentioning polygamy, his review just one short paragraph. Yet polygamy obviously was so significant a problem that it may have driven David insane. Perhaps the LDS and RLDS can switch positions for the next century and continue the great debate, with the LDS denying that Joseph Smith was a polygamist while the RLDS vigorously contend that he was. (Maybe we could even schedule a debate between W. Grant McMurray and Gordon B. Hinckley, or Paul Edwards and Boyd K. Packer.)

I have long been critical of the explanations for polygamy given by the Saints. In his 1983 watershed article in the *John Whitmer Journal*, RLDS historian Richard Howard seemed to portray polygamy happening in Nauvoo as an accident. LDS people tend simply to explain it as a revelation. For example, one LDS bishop admitted to my students

that he cannot defend polygamy by rational argument and simply accepts it "because God said so." God, however, forgot to tell Emma, whom he should have known would require lots of persuasion. My freshman students are much more realistic about polygamy than the historians, it seems to me. They assume Joseph's sex drive had something to do with it and draw parallels between the relationship of Emma and Joseph and that of Hillary and Bill Clinton. Bill Clinton probably wishes he had figured out a theological justification for his own activities.

Why did the martyr's son, who showed great potential, go crazy? Some RLDS thought that David was poisoned by Brighamites while he was doing missionary work in Utah. For many that was a very attractive theory. But Joseph III told the Saints not to believe it, and his skepticism was probably well placed. Another theory had David "infected" through his contact with Amasa Lyman's spiritualism in Utah. Mormons of the Utah church found it natural to speculate that David, a sensitive young man, went insane over learning that his father was indeed a polygamist—despite the denials of his mother and his older brother, the prophet.

The LDS view seems the most likely to this writer. Imagine that a person believes his church is the only true church. Imagine that his father was its founding prophet. Imagine that the son is adored by the saints and expected to accomplish great things for the faith. Imagine that his oldest brother is the current prophet. Imagine that this "one and only true church" began out of opposition to polygamy, a social practice that is reviled in the western world. Imagine that his mother and brother are publicly committed to the proposition that his father, the founding prophet, was not a polygamist. Imagine that the young man goes to Utah and discovers that, in fact, he was, and actually meets some of his wives! Imagine that this is a subject he cannot possibly discuss with his brother or mother. Imagine that just as he discovers this truth, his brother, the prophet, calls him to become a member of the First Presidency of this church committed to the historical fiction that their father was a monogamist. It seems understandable that a young man like David might crack under these circumstances.

David's marriage to Clara Hartshorn will seem extremely patriarchal from our twenty-first-century perspectives. Clara is an attractive, young woman who has the apparent good fortune to marry the son of Joseph, the Martyr, and brother of the prophet Joseph III. But David is never the provider that a nineteenth-century husband is supposed to be. He never provides a home of their own for his wife and child and is often absent, doing church work and going on missions to Utah. When he begins to show signs of insanity, he accuses Clara of being unfaithful. Institutionalized for the last 27 years of his life, he seems to forget her. Yet Clara, despite his mental instability and inability to support her, remains faithful to David until his death in 1904. Would we expect that level of faithfulness of a man—then or now? Would a society that valued women expect them to wait like this?

Church history has often been the recitation of the lives of the brethren who guided the church, with little attention to the women and children. The feminist movement of the last thirty years has made us more sensitive to that bias, and Avery has contributed mightily to a much-needed balance in our historical writing. Most other Mormon historians would also neglect the long friendship David enjoys with Charles Jensen. "Charley" is single, a fact he and

David discuss in their letters. David gives Charley some pointers about how to land a wife. Eventually, Charley suggests to David that he has decided that he will never marry. David accepts this and no longer encourages Charley to find a mate. From the letters that have survived, it appears that Charley is homosexual. It also seems clear that David can talk more freely with Charley than with his mother or older brother. It is to Avery's credit that she addresses this relationship in an informed, reasonable, and sensitive manner. Church leaders today, from bishops to presidents, could learn from David's non-judgmental understanding of Charley's struggle with his sexuality.

From Mission to Madness is a touching story of a gifted but tragic figure in Mormon history, told very skillfully by a talented writer and historian.

Evidence without Reconciliation

The Creation of the Book of Mormon: A Historical Inquiry. By LaMar Petersen (Salt Lake City, Utah: Freethinker Press, 1998), 283 pp.

Reviewed by Polly Stewart, Professor of English, Salisbury State University, Salisbury, Maryland.

ONE CANNOT READ OR WRITE about the Book of Mormon without acknowledging a position with respect to its truth claims. Even to profess no stake in any such claims is to take a position. People who write about the Book of Mormon are generally, in LaMar Petersen's words, "violently partisan" (p. 103) because the Book of Mormon is something about which it is impossible to be neutral. While Petersen's book is wholly about the Book of Mormon's truth claims, its approach is nonviolent, presenting evidence and letting the evidence speak for itself—a technique that ultimately gets us no nearer the truth than the most exquisite theological argumentation, because on this question a reader's mind is, cannot help being, already made up. The value of Petersen's approach in this compelling but thankless endeavor is that it presents evidence about Joseph Smith's whereabouts and activities during the crucial years between the First Vision (1820 or 1823) and the establishment of the official record of the revelations authorizing the foundations of the faith (1839-41), not from on high, but from the scullery, as it were—a documentary account of insider perceptions of the Book of Mormon's development within its folk-cultural milieu. Petersen documents, for instance, how Joseph had his visions just at a time when many people were having visions; found a seer-stone just when the finding of seer-stones was rather common; and put the stone to the same use (finding precious metals) as did others of his day, for treasure-digging was something of a national pastime. Joseph and his father and brothers dug for treasure as a family enterprise conducted under the folk assumption that buried treasure, whether you find it by seer-stone or by other means, will slip away, sinking farther into the earth and out of reach, if you are not morally fit to attain it.

A folklorist will inevitably see in other aspects of the history and background of the Book of Mormon examples of Northern European folk motif and structure: repetitions of the number three (the Three Witnesses, Joseph's three visitations from the angel in one night, his three attempts to lay hold of the golden plates in the Hill Cumorah, the angel's repossession of the plates three times during Joseph's earthly custody of them); the cave as a repository for treasure; and the polarizing of scriptural, doctrinal, and experiential worlds into opposites (e.g., sin/suffering followed by redemption, white and delightsome vs. dark and loathsome, and the unceasing battle between good and evil both in the world at large and within every person). While the later church took a rigid stance with respect to the truth of the claims made in its foundational documents, Joseph himself appears not to have been troubled by inconsistencies among, or absence of support for, these documents as they were produced, thus causing generations of the faithful (including our author) to resort to anguished or obsessive searching for the truth. All four appendices in the present volume, following the seven chapters of the main body of the book, are documents of various people's struggles. Martin Harris, who endured decades of vilification and rejection by both insiders and outsiders in the early church, maintained his faith and reasserted it late in life—ironically a devout believer who yet reminisced about Joseph's ability to find lost objects and precious metals with his seer-stone (Appendix A). LaMar Petersen—reared in the bosom of the church and personally conversant from his childhood on with luminaries who occupied church offices in the early part of the twentieth century, married in the temple by George Albert Smith, and a devoted (though nonaffiliated) Mormon scholar with a vast command of primary documents—published in 1957 a pamphlet pointing out a number of inconsistencies in the early documents (here shortened and printed as Appendix B).

Petersen also reminisces about his childhood friend Omer Stewart, who, in 1933 as a returned missionary and student at the University of Utah, conducted an undergraduate project comparing Book of Mormon passages about flora and fauna with actual scientific data about New World biota and found that the data did not sustain the scriptural claims. The two friends were unable to account for this finding, so young Petersen arranged an audience with Apostle James E. Talmage to resolve their confusion. Alas, the only critique Talmage provided was about 1) the loss of a returned missionary's testimony and 2) comma splices (Appendix C). The fourth appendix, an update of Stan Larson's 1996 volume *Quest for the Gold Plates* (Freethinker Press), concerns the career of Thomas Stuart Ferguson, a believer who tried fervently (and ultimately vainly) during the mid-twentieth century to reconcile Book of Mormon claims with archaeological findings from Central America.

These appendices, which take up a good half of the book, are not foregrounded in the introduction, but are left to speak for themselves. They will speak eloquently to any devout Mormon who has experienced the either/or problem of faith, for each of the four is a record of someone's struggle to find truth in the Book of Mormon after intellectual battering of one kind or another. In his concluding remarks, Petersen notes that even though of late the church has modified its either/or stance, the Book of Mormon itself

marches on, text and theme, in its Manichean glory, a challenge to the credulity of the faithful. And the thousands of textual changes, large and small, that have been wrought in the sacred scripture from the earliest days up to as recently as 1981 (111) will continue to invite scrutiny by those for whom any change in a document based upon claims to divine authority will throw into question the integrity of the whole document.

CONTRIBUTORS

KEVIN L. BARNEY is a partner in the Chicago office of Kutak Rock, L.L.P., where he practices tax-exempt finance law. His e-mail address is <klbarney@yahoo.com>.

TIM BEHREND is a scholar who writes on Javanese cultural history and teaches Indonesian language and literature in the School of Asian Studies, University of Auckland, New Zealand. A fifth-generation Clevelander, he has been a lapsed Catholic since 1970 and an inactive Mormon since 1980. In a recent search through old 5.25" floppy disks for a missing database of Javanese manuscripts, he stumbled upon this story, half completed, and finished it in a moment of nostalgia. He would like to acknowledge Michael Solomon of Salamanca for first suggesting the conceptual trope at the center of the story.

WAYNE BOOTH, professor of English emeritus of the University of Chicago, was born and raised in American Fork, Utah. After earning a B.A. at Brigham Young University and a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago, he taught for eleven years at Haverford and Earlham Colleges and then returned to Chicago where he taught for more than thirty years. His most recent book is *For the Love of it: Amateuring and its Rivals*. He is now working on an autobiography that will include many examples of his practice of hypocrisy—both defensible and indefensible .

CAROLE R. FONTAINE is Professor of Hebrew Scriptures at Andover Newton Theological School. A specialist in wisdom traditions and feminist literary criticism, she is the author of *Traditional Sayings in the Old Testament: A Contextual Study*, and co-editor of several volumes in the commentary series *A Feminist Companion to the Bible*. She is author of the study notes to the Book of Proverbs in the *Harpers Study Bible*, and her commentaries on the Book of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes have appeared in *Women's Bible Commentary* and the *Harpers Bible Commentary*. She has been featured as an expert commentator on the Arts and Entertainment Network's *Mysteries of the Bible*. In addition, she is a scribe and illuminator of manuscripts and has been Artist-in-Residence at Andover Newton since 1995.

LEWIS HORN has published stories in many journals, including *Colorado Review, The Fiddlehead, Greensboro Review, Missouri Review*. Some have been anthologized in *Best American Short Stories, Prize Stories: The O. Henry Awards*, and in anthologies published by Canadian small presses. He has published the story collection *What Do Ducks Do in Winter* with Signature Books which has accepted a second collection for publication. He lives is Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Canada.

ERIKA KNIGHT served a mission for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Rostov-na-Donu, Russia, in 1996-97. She married Ronald Ward in 1998, graduated from Brigham Young University in Mathematics in 1999, and now works as a stay-at-home mother in Fairfax, Virginia. She thanks her mother Ruth Knight Bailey for saving the voluminous letters Erika sent from the mission field, for selecting passages for publication, and for her editing. She also thanks Cherie K. Woodworth for editorial help and for guiding the manuscript to *Dialogue*.

TODD ROBERT PETERSEN is currently a Ph.D. candidate in creative writing and critical theory at Oklahoma State University. He holds editorial positions at the *Cimarron Review* and *Irreantum*, and his work has been published in or will soon appear in *Third Coast*, *Mid-American Review*, *Irreantum*, *Dialogue*, and *Sunstone*.

TANIA RANDS LYON is a Ph.D. candidate in Sociology at Princeton University and currently lives with her husband John in Waterville, Maine. She served a Russian-speaking mission to Ukraine from 1991-93. The author can be reached by e-mail at <tnrands@princeton.edu>.

VAL D. RUST is a professor in the Graduate School of Education and Information Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles. He is a member of the Irvine Fourth Ward of the Irvine, California Stake.

ABOUT THE ARTIST

Blanche Wilson was born in 1922 in Salt Lake City and grew up in Portland Oregon. She took art classes all through her school years including Maryhurst College in Portland, Brigham Young University, Weber State University, and the University of Utah. During World War II, she was a draftsman for the Navy. After her marriage to D. Jay Wilson and while raising six children, she taught at the Utah School for the Blind. In 1972 she earned a Master's degree from BYU in painting and sculpture.

She began printmaking in the early 1970s after many years of painting in oils and watercolor. Over the years her woodcuts developed from small linocuts for Christmas cards to larger black and white images to multi-colored wood block prints, which have won many awards. The prints are in state, university, corporate, and private collections. Being a realist, she finds subject matter everywhere. Both sketches and photographs are useful in her work with woodcuts. Her output is not large. She may produce four or five new woodcuts in a year. The editions are limited to fifty. All are hand-printed on traditional Japanese printing paper, and she does them as needed.

PRINTS

Cover: "Girl Sitting on a Red Chair." 9" x 12" Wood Block Print, 1999

Inside Back Cover: "Round Valley." 9" x 10" Wood Block Print, 1998

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DIALOGUE
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